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The Madras Journal of Literature and Science

FOR THE YEAR

1878.

EDITED BY

GUSTAV OPPERT, PH.D.,

PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, MADRAS;
TELUGU TRANSLATOR TO GOVERNMENT;
CURATOR GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS LIBRARY;
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PREFACE.

TWELVE years have elapsed since the last number of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science has appeared. It was published in October 1866 and was the second volume of the third series.

The Committee of the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society have long been anxious to revive their Journal, but it was not until 1876 that actual steps were taken to realize this intention. A Sub-Committee was formed and the undersigned was requested to act as Honorary Editor of the contributions accepted by this Committee. He consented to fill this post of confidence, though not unmindful of his own short-comings and the difficulties which he would have to encounter, but hoping that a prosperous future might dawn again on a Journal, which was once the pride of this Presidency and to which distinguished men of all services and professions were pleased to contribute.

The Government have kindly allowed the Journal to be printed at the Government Press, the Society paying for all expenses incurred. It is the agreeable duty of the undersigned to acknowledge the considerate assistance which he received from the Acting Superintendent of the Government Press,

Mr. Rowland Hill, to whom this volume is indebted for its satisfactory appearance and clear typography.

This Volume contains the number for the year 1878, its publication having been unavoidably delayed. Fresh material is available for a new number and in the hands of the Editor, who invites all those willing and able to contribute to this Journal to lend him their kind and welcome assistance.

GUSTAV OPPERT.

5th February 1879.

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The Madras Journal of Literature and Science.

ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGES.

A Contribution to Comparative Philology.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN Jakob Grimm[1] made known to the scientific world the results of his observations regarding the external modifications which the same roots are found to undergo in different Aryan languages, and reduced his ingenious discoveries about the modulation of sounds to certain laws founded on facts and proved beyond any doubt by the interchange of letters, these laws became the foundation-stone of a new science known as comparative philology, which the talent and the learning of Franz Bopp[2] soon emancipated from the thraldom of classical philology and placed on its proper footing. With the discovery of Sanskṛit by European scholars and with the application of this language to the explanation of words occurring in the most important

(1) Jakob Grimm's book " Ueber den altdeutschen Meistergesang " was published in 1811, while his famous work on German grammar appeared in 1819.

(2) Franz Bopp's "Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litthauischen, Altslavischen, Gothischen und Deutschen" was commenced in 1833.

European languages, an impulse was given to these investigations.[3] But this scientific movement, once started, did not confine itself to the so-called Aryan languages, for a fresh stimulus was applied to the study of the Semitic group of languages, which, though it had previously nearly monopolized the attention of linguists, needed new ideas and associations to be pursued with the required success.

Our century has witnessed many intellectual feats in the vast region of science and art, and among these we must surely reckon the deciphering of inscriptions of bygone times which reveal to us the otherwise sealed history of Egypt, of Babylon, and of Assyria, and make us acquainted with a rich literature in hieroglyphics and cuneiform characters, part of which was written at a time when neither the Pentateuch nor the Vedas had been composed.

These cuneiform inscriptions and hieroglyphics contain no doubt the earliest records of mankind, and their value is heightened by the circumstance that they occasionally give evidence of, and throw light on, the construction of languages still living. In this era of critical research the languages spoken throughout this globe have been and are still being subjected, as far as possible, to careful examination, so that the higher the veil which shrouds the secret origin of languages is lifted up, the more will be known of the history and construction of the various idioms which unite and divide the several nations and races.

The differences in construction and syntactical arrangement of the various languages have been frequently com-

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(3) European missionaries became acquainted with Sanskṛit and studied it thoroughly already in the seventeenth century, as Roberto de Nobili, Heinrich Roth, Père Cœurdoux and others. A Sanskṛit Grammar was even published at Rome in 1790 by Johann Philip Wesdin (Paulinus a Santo Bartholomæo); but the real merit of having introduced Sanskṛit into Europe remains to such men as Sir William Jones, William Carey, Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Sir Charles Wilkins, and others of their contemporaries.

mented upon, and there have been diversities and often even contradictions in the explanations; but a scientific examination of this philological question was not entered upon until the beginning of this century. The honour of opening the inquiry was reserved to K. W. Friedrich von Schlegel. In his work 'On the language and wisdom of the Hindus,'[4] he divided languages into two classes. In the first of these the variations in the meaning of words are indicated by internal modification of the root, while in the second the same object is obtained by adding to the word in question, whenever it is necessary, expressions denoting number, time, &c. Sanskṛit, together with the other Aryan languages, belongs according to this scheme to the first, and the Semitic languages to the second branch.

Friedrich's elder brother, August Wilhelm von Schlegel, the famous German translator of Shakespear and the author of the first critical edition and Latin translation of the Rāmāyaṇa in Europe preferred a tripartite classification, into (*a*) those languages which are totally devoid of grammatical construction, (*b*) those which use affixes, and (*c*) those which use inflections.[5]

Franz Bopp arranges languages in three distinct classes, the first of which is composed of languages which possess no real roots, and which, deprived of the faculty of composition, have no organism, *i.e.*, no grammar. To this branch belongs the Chinese. The second branch contains monosyllabic roots which admit compounds, and which in this manner especially obtain their organism, *i.e.*, their grammar. The chief principle of the creation of words lies in the combination of verbal and pronominal roots, which form together, so to speak, the body and soul. This class is

(4) Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder, Heidelberg, 1808.

(5) See Observations sur la Langue et la Littérature provençales, page 14. "Les langues sans aucune structure grammaticale, les langues qui emploient des affixes, et les langues à inflections."

represented by the Aryan languages, and by all those which belong neither to the first nor to the third branch. This third branch contains roots composed of two syllables and of three consonants, which represent, to a certain extent, the original meaning of the word. Its grammatical forms are not only produced by combination in the same manner as mentioned in the second division, but also by internal modification of the roots. The so-called Semitic languages are ascribed to this class. [6]

Jakob Grimm admits in his famous essay "On the Origin of Language" [7] a monosyllabic, uninflectional state, in which the material of the language is confined to some hundred roots. The formation of these inflections is of secondary importance in the history of language. The inflections

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(6) See: Vergleichende Grammatik, Zweite Auflage, Vol. I, page 201 ff. "Wir wollen aber lieber mit A.W. v. Schlegel drei Klassen aufstellen, dieselben jedoch so unterscheiden: Erstens, Sprachen ohne eigentliche Wurzeln und ohne Fähigkeit zur Zusammensetzung. Hierher gehört das Chinesische. .... Zweitens, Sprachen mit einsylbigen Wurzeln, die der Zusammensetzung fähig sind, und fast einzig auf diesem Wege ihren Organismus, ihre Grammatik gewinnen. Das Hauptprincip der Wortschöpfung, in dieser Klasse, scheint mir in der Verbindung von Verbal und Pronominal Wurzeln zu liegen, die zusammen gleichsam Seele und Leib darstellen. Zu dieser Klasse gehört die indo-europäische Sprachfamilie und ausserdem alle übrigen Sprachen, sofern sie nicht unter 1 oder 3 begriffen sind .... Drittens, Sprachen mit zweisylbigen Verbalwurzeln und drei nothwendigen Trägern der Grundbedeutung. Diese Klasse begreift bloss die Semitischen Sprachen, und erzeugt ihre grammatischen Formen nicht bloss durch Zusammensetzung, wie die zweite, sondern auch durch blosse innere Modification der Wurzeln."

(7) A copy of this excellent treatise "Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache," Berlin, 1852, unfortunately does not lie before me, and I am obliged to refer to it through M. Ernest Renan's well known work "De l'origine du Langage, seconde édition, Paris, 1858, pages 8-10."

"Il (Grimm) croit volontiers à un état monosyllabique et sans flexions, où le matériel de la langue se serait borné a quelques centaines de racines. La formation des flexions lui paraît un second moment dans l'histoire du langage; les flexions sont toutes pour lui des mots exprimant des idées sensibles, qui se sont agglutinés à la fin des radicaux, et ont perdu leur sens primitif pour ne plus être que de simples indices de rapports. Il compte ainsi trois âges dans le développement du langage: Un premier âge de simplicité et de pauvreté dont le Chinois nous présente encore les traits essentiels;—un second âge, qui fut celui des flexions synthétiques où les relations des idées étaient exprimées par des mots parasites attachés à la suite du radical et ne

are words expressing ideas, agglutinated to the end of the roots which have lost their original meaning, being in fact only simple indications of their relations. Grimm acknowledges in consequence three periods in the development of language. The first is the period of simplicity and poverty, of which type Chinese still preserves the essential qualities. The second is the period of synthetic inflections; in it the relations of the idea are represented by parasitic words attached to the root and forming only one word; this is the case in Sanskṛit, Greek, and Latin. In the third period, when the people have become unable to follow such a scientific grammatical system, the unity of the inflected word is broken, and an inverse arrangement of the parts of expression is preferred. In the second period the meaningless word which serves to express the relations, has produced the inflection by placing itself after the root; the inflection now drops and the particle is placed as a distinct word before the term it modifies; this is the procedure in the Romance languages and in the analytic languages in general.

Wilhelm von Humboldt, the elder brother of Alexander of Humboldt, and the famous author of the renowned work on the Kavi language of Java,[8] proposed a division arranged in four classes, which he described as isolating, inflectional, agglutinative and incorporative.[9]

The late Professor August Schleicher, one of the most

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faisant qu'un avec lui, comme cela a lieu en Sanscrit, en Grec, en Latin;—un troisiême âge où le peuple incapable d'observer une grammaire aussi savante, brise l'unité du mot fléchi et prefère l'arrangement inverse des parties de l'expression. Dans le second âge le mot vide, qui sert d'expression aux rapports, a produit la flexion en se rangeant à la suite du radical; maintenant la flexion tombe, et la particule se place comme un mot distinct devant le terme qu'elle modifie; ainsi procèdent les langues romanes et les langues analytiques en général."

(8) Ueber die Kawisprache auf der Insel Java. Berlin, 3 Vols. 1836-40.

(9) In the introduction to the above-mentioned work, which appeared also separately under the title "Ueber die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues." Berlin, 1836.

eminent philologists of his time, being of opinion that the difference existing between the agglutinative and incorporative classes, was hardly sufficiently pronounced to allow of their being distinguished as separate divisions, merged the two into one, and substituted three classes instead of four, these three being the isolating, agglutinative and inflectional.[10]

This classification has been also adopted by Professor Max Müller. The last mentioned illustrious savant describes it at length in his well-known lectures on the science of language.[11]

"The first stage, in which each root preserves its independence, and in which there is no formal distinction between a root and a word, I call the *Radical stage.* This stage is best represented by ancient Chinese. Languages belonging to this first or Radical stage have sometimes been called *Monosyllabic* or *Isolating.* The second stage, in which two or more roots coalesce to form a word, the one retaining its radical independence, the other sinking down to a mere termination, I call the *Terminational* stage. This *stage* is best represented by the Turanian family of speech, and the languages belonging to it have generally been called *agglutinative*, from *gluten*, glue. The third stage, in which roots coalesce so that neither the one nor the other retains its substantive independence, I call the *Inflectional stage.* This stage is best represented by the Aryan and Semitic families, and the languages belonging to it have sometimes been distinguished by the name of *amalgamating* or *organic.*"

The distinguished Dravidian scholar Bishop Caldwell[12] admits also a tripartite classification of languages, but differs in a peculiar manner from the last mentioned.

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(10) In his works 'Zur vergleichenden Sprachgeschichte,' page 10; "Die Sprachen Europa's," page 6, and the "Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indo-germanischen Sprachen," dritte Auflage, pages 2-4.

(11) See Lectures on the Science of Language, seventh edition, 1873, Vol. I, pages 330-332.

(12) See Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages, second edition, 1875, page 88. "The manner in which various

Here also must be mentioned the eminent services which Professor August Friedrich Pott,[13] the Nestor of Comparative Philology, has rendered to this science, and the new light which Professor H. Steinthal's labours have thrown on the psychology of language.[14]

These short remarks contain, to a certain extent, the more important modern systems of classifying languages. In the same manner as these systems follow each other in time, they clearly exhibit with the growth of knowledge the progress which is being gradually made in linguistic researches. In proportion as the material increases the views become more expanded. Since the time when Hebrew was regarded in Europe as the fountain language from which every dialect has been derived, what strides have been made!

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languages deal with their roots is strongly illustrative of their essential spirit and distinctive character; and it is chiefly with reference to their differences in this particular that the languages of Europe and Asia admit of being arranged into classes. Those classes are as follow:—(1) The monosyllabic, uncompounded, or isolative languages of which Chinese is the principal example, in which roots admit of no change or combination, and in which all grammatical relations are expressed either by auxiliary words or phrases, or by the position of words in a sentence. (2) The Semitic or intromutative languages, in which grammatical relations are expressed by internal changes in the vowels of dissyllabic roots. (3) The agglutinative languages, in which grammatical relations are expressed by affixes or suffixes added to the root or compounded with it. In the latter class I include both the Indo-European and the Scythian groups of tongues. They differ, indeed, greatly from one another in details, and that not only in their vocabularies but also in their grammatical forms; yet I include them both in one class because they appear to agree, or to have originally agreed, in the principle of expressing grammatical relation by means of the agglutination of auxiliary words."

(13) See especially: "Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen," von Aug. Friedrich Pott, Dr., Lemgo and Detmold, 7 Vols., 1859-73.

(14) See Dr. Steinthal's "Classification der Sprachen" and his "Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues." In this latter work he proposes on page 327 a division of languages into those devoid of form (formlose Sprachen) and those endowed with form (Formsprachen), each admitting to be arranged into two classes, of which one is called juxtapositing (nebensetzend) and the other inflectional (abwandelnd).

The study of classical and modern languages has assumed a more enlightened form. The discovery of Sanskṛit has revolutionized that branch of philological research and produced, as it were, a regeneration in it. More recently Chinese and the so-called agglutinative languages have been embodied in the research; the deciphering of hieroglyphics and cuneiform inscriptions has added new authentic material to the knowledge of ancient dead and of modern living languages; African, American, and Australian dialects have begun to form an intrinsic part of comparative philology, and the sphere of that science now comprises the languages of the globe, embracing every spoken dialect, however insignificant and unimportant it might at first sight appear. These are vast strides indeed towards the development of the science of language, and how much more progress may be expected in future, if the new material keeps pouring in as it has done up till now, and the same unflagging zeal for scientific truth remains undiminished.

But though the systems previously mentioned prove the great and gradual progress which has been made in the methodic arrangement of languages, this arrangement referred mostly to the outward appearance, or rather to the differences existing in the morphologic constitution of languages, so that it was this exterior which seems to have especially excited the attention of scholars and given rise to the various classifications. This mode of proceeding is useful for practical purposes, as it provides the student with a substantial frame wherein to arrange and to distribute the various dialects, but it does not aim at an explanation of the existing differences and difficulties.

It is therefore the object of this discourse to suggest a classification of languages, which, while admitting the importance of these external marks, assigns to them only the part of characterizing the different dialects belonging to the

various subdivisions by stating whether those languages are monosyllabic, agglutinative, inflectional, &c. The principal arrangement rests on the tendency displayed by a language in its peculiar mode of thought. Though it may appear difficult, nay even impossible, to find access to the mysteries of reflection, we yet believe it will be possible to fix in the various languages on certain enunciations, which, once for all, determine the nature of a language. We shall show how the terms of relationship supply this demand most efficaciously, and using them as a guide, we shall soon observe how all languages arrange themselves in two groups, in one which displays a concrete, and in another which manifests an abstract tendency.[15] This predilection towards concreteness and abstractness prevails throughout, and we therefore divide languages into concrete and abstract[16] ones. This inclination occasionally assumes in the one case a specializing and in the other case a generalizing aspect, *e.g.*, in the formation of the dual and plural of the first personal pronoun, as will be shown hereafter (on page 61); but this and other similar expressions are only modifications of the inborn tendency towards concreteness and abstractness.

We shall next turn our attention to the manner in which the different categories as gender, number, space and time are treated in the several dialects. The first two depict especially the internal process of reflection, while the latter two, space and time, becoming conspicuous in declension and conjugation, represent mostly the external changes previously alluded to.

An inquiry into the subject of gender will disclose the fact that the concrete languages ignore gender, while the abstract languages denote it. The various ways in which

(15) Compare, Chapter VII., page 58.

(16) The word "abstract" will also include the power of imagination and that of generalizing, which are allied to the power of abstracting.

words of relationship are formed in the several dialects supply us with the principal subdivisions of our system, which subdivisions are subsequently arranged, according to the external characteristics of formation, as previously stated.

The subject of number will claim also our attention, but not to such an extent as gender does.

This mode of classification has the advantage of determining by unmistakable marks the character and position of a language, and of preventing any hypothetical vagaries concerning the relationship of languages, such as have been indulged in only too often. The division of languages here proposed endeavours to place their arrangement on a firm foundation based on scientific principles. Such a classification will in its turn open an insight into the nature and process of thought existing among the various nations, and may eventually become a truly important auxiliary of ethnology.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE NATURE OF LANGUAGE.

The science of language is no doubt a physical science, and its proper place is in the natural history of mankind. This being so, we shall try to discover whether a careful research into the development of human society does not provide us with a key to open the gates to some hidden secrets.

Articulate language is a gift which a benign Providence has vouchsafed only to man. It is especially by means of articulate speech, and the capability of preserving in it and through it the ideas, inventions, and deeds of preceding generations, whether they were merely committed to retentive memory or secured in addition by writing, that man has reached a high state of civilization. Without articulate speech such a progress could not have been achieved. By speech

man is distinguished from the dumb animal; though dumbness in this case does not signify either that an animal does not utter sounds, or that the meaning of these utterances cannot be understood. On the contrary man as a rule does understand the intentions of animals, as expressed by their movements and sounds; their dumbness is rather a matter of degree, and is attributed to their being deprived of articulate speech. The expressions used by brutes are in the various species always the same and not subject to change. From time immemorial sheep have been bleating, cows lowing, horses neighing, dogs barking, cats mewing and cocks crowing, and though even these simple tones are expressive of modification in meaning according to modulation of voice, no apparent alteration seems to have ever taken place.[17] To appreciate correctly the sentiments of

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(17) The so-called languages of animals have been made repeatedly the object of special studies. Among others the Frenchman Dupont and the German G. T. Wenzel (Neue Entdeckungen über die Thiersprache, Wien, 1805) were engaged in such researches. The former was of opinion that he was able to distinguish eleven sounds or words in the language of the pigeon, as many in that of the fowl, fourteen among cats, twenty-two among cattle, and thirty-three among dogs. But observations of this kind seem doomed to failure, for, however ingenious man may be, it is quite possible, that in spite of all his cleverness, he will misunderstand signs and sounds made by animals. Their exact meaning may escape his comprehension, especially as it is doubtful whether we can gain really a true insight into the character of beings so distinct from us. It is therefore presumptuous to declare, that there exists no kind of communication similar to speech by means of sound among animals, because man has as yet failed to discover it.

The resemblance which exists between the screams uttered by Gorillas, Orang-Utangs and other monkeys on the one side, and the bawling or clicks peculiar to Bushmen in Africa, and to other savages in Asia, America and Australia, though well deserving of our attention, arises probably from a similar construction of the throat, and from the equality or rather inconsiderable disparity of their mental development. It does however in no way prove that the monkeys share with their neighbours, the uncouth human coinhabitants of the forests, the gift of articulate speech, of which the latter may as yet be themselves unconscious. Without descending to the level of lower animals man can imitate the utterances of animals, thus also can the latter, *e.g.*, parrots and starlings, learn to pronounce human words without ascending from their inferior position, *i.e.*, without obtaining the gift of speech.

animals, one must be conversant with their peculiar mode of expression, for the same movement might not signify the same thing, as every one is aware that, *e.g.*, a dog by wagging his tail indicates a very different frame of mind from that which a cat betrays by a like movement. In the same way also the signs for calling with the hand vary among men.

The inward character and disposition appear, as it were, outwardly translated by language, whether by gestures or by speech. As articulate speech is a speciality of men, and men, though differing from each other in external appearance and internal attributes, are as a species one, and as speech is peculiar to all human individuals unless they are deprived of it by some cause or other—every person is able to speak up to a certain degree every language. The language of the individual is the product of various elements—of the family in which he is born, of the language of the country in which he is brought up, modified moreover by the natural influences of the locality and the climate in which he lives. As a separate individual, every man is besides endowed with an intellect of his own which will occasionally appear on the surface. We distinguish clearly two very different influential elements which produce and define the speech of the individual; the one, influencing the utterance of sound, is physiological; the other, representing the manner of thinking, is psychological.[18] As two leaves exactly alike do not exist; so also cannot be found two completely similar persons. But the principle of speech is to serve as a means

(18) What applies to the individual applies also *mutatis mutandis* to a number of individuals, to families, clans, races and nations. Between different nations may exist a near relationship, they may have even been descended from one and the same stock, and yet have been in course of time, by external or internal political circumstances, so affected that the original kinship existing between them is no more visible. Compare the descendents of the Franks who emigrated into Gaul, with the offspring of those who remained in Germany, with the Franconians.

of communication between different persons; the very nature of the institution of speech necessitates, therefore, to a certain degree, the sinking of the individuality. For speech adapts itself to the want it is required to fill up.

As a rule an original language springs up in the infancy of national life, expressing the peculiar mental disposition of the community who used it, and retaining the impression which constitutes its individuality. Everybody possesses the latent capacity of speaking, as has been said before, every language; the descent of the individual need not therefore necessarily coincide with, or become apparent from, the idiom he uses. Languages are occasionally adopted by people whose original idiom is in words and in thought quite different. Aryan Brahmans speak in South India Dravidian dialects, while the non-Aryan inhabitants of North India yielded in this respect to Aryan predominance. African Negroes have in America taken to the language of their European masters, the Celtic has been supplanted in France by a Romanic language, as the Cornish in England by a Teutonic. Speech alone is therefore not a test of race. Yet it may be possible that linguists well acquainted with the peculiarities and intricacies of the dialects they have particularly paid attention to, will discover in the expressions of those who use languages foreign to them by practice or descent, eccentricities which can only be sufficiently explained by their inborn individuality. Who has not heard of Grecisms, Latinisms, Gallicisms, Anglicisms, Germanisms, &c., being ascribed to Greeks, Latins, French, English or Germans, when speaking or writing a language other than their own.

Men may, moreover, speak in public life a foreign language, and yet keep up in their domestic life at home for generations their original idiom—a fact which often occurs in conquered provinces, when the victor tries to impose his language on his defeated enemy. In order not to be misled into wrong conclusions, one must, in questions

of language and race, take into consideration, if possible, the original and not the adopted language; and that too in a form the least corrupted and mixed with modern and foreign elements.

Numerical preponderance will generally, in course of time, overpower the resistance of a minority, especially if the majority is the reigning tribe, and the weaker minority cannot support their resistance by peculiarly favorable coincidents, such as are provided by impenetrable jungles in inaccessible mountain tracts, or by a distant island where the refugees might find a sure shelter, live unmolested from their foes, and keep up their manners and customs together with their native dialect. History provides many examples of this kind.

But victorious races do not succeed always in imposing their own idiom on the vanquished; nay, we often see that the victors accept, in course of time, the language of their subjects. A remarkable instance of this kind is offered by China, where nearly every foreign invader had to submit to Chinese fashion in his speech as in his domestic arrangements. In South India the more highly gifted Aryans adopted as speech Dravidian languages which denote a less developed state of expression than Sanskṛit. The fact that the Saxons of England retained their Teutonic dialect, even after the Norman conquest, is of no great importance, as the original dialect of the Norman was related to the Anglo-Saxon; and French, though adopted in France owing to the influence of the greater refinement and civilization of the French, and to the authority of the clergy, was equally different from Norse as from Anglo-Saxon.

We must not lose sight of the fact that a person who learns a foreign language, and who does so either voluntarily or compulsorily, either for temporary or for permanent use, submits himself to the rule of that language. He tries to speak it, to think in it according to its proper mode, *i.e.*,

he assumes its pronunciation, grammar and syntax; he loses indeed, to a certain degree, his personal independence, while he accommodates himself to the whims and caprices of his new mistress. Whatever previously to the commencement of his studies, he ridiculed as abstruse in expression and disagreeable in sound, he now will endeavour to imitate as closely as possible, and he will feel a particular delight in being able to pronounce rightly all nasals, sibilants, gutturals and cerebrals, to accentuate like a Chinese and to click like a Hottentot.[19] But occasionally the old Adam will break out, and he will violate, in a more or less atrocious manner, the laws of the language he has assumed, either by his pronunciation or by faulty syntactical construction. His vagaries do not influence, however, the development of the language he learns, for it pursues uninterruptedly the course of its destiny.

The real point at issue is, therefore, not whether the language one speaks indicates the race to which one belongs —as long as that race has been preserved in its purity— which it surely does not; but whether a language, if used by foreign individuals and nations, retains its original character. There is no doubt of it. The very mistakes of pronunciation and of expression testify to the attempts of mastering a certain idiom, though the ability of doing so successfully depends on the capacity and intelligence of the student. A language preserves as it were instinctively its peculiar construction, and if it does not always coincide either with the particular nation or person who speaks it, it certainly indicates the race of those who spoke it first, and this in spite of all apparent change, and it retains the mode of thought of those among whom it first sprung up as their natural means of communication, though that race itself might exist no longer.

(19) The Hottentots do not stand alone in using clicks. The Kaffirs do the same, though to a smaller extent. Clicks are also ascribed to the Circassians. The Apache and the Chinook in North America appear to be peculiarly fond of them.

Languages exhibit, like the persons who speak them, the different phases of life, with its commencement and development, its decay and death. If once a dialect is no more spoken by a people, it is dead, though it might be kept artificially alive by being used for scientific, religious, or professional purposes, as is the case with Sanskṛit, Hebrew, and Latin. The relationship of parentage and offspring among living creatures is also found among languages. Owing to change of abode (emigration), to political circumstances, to contact with other nations, new languages might rise from old ones, as the Romanic languages proceeded from Latin. However much such daughter languages differ from the parent tongue in words and construction (*e.g.*, by assuming an analytic, instead of the synthetic formation of the parent language), a real change of thinking does not take place. If, on the other hand, two nations belonging to different races and speaking consequently different languages are brought together through wars or treaties and intermix with each other, the character of the language which they will speak depends on a variety of circumstances. Both French and English contain Latin and Teutonic elements, but the former belongs to the Latin, the latter to the Teutonic branch of the Aryan stock, because the internal construction, that is, the grammar and syntax, expressing the thought of the first framers of the rising dialects is in the one Romanic, in the other Teutonic. The Frank invaders of Gaul submitted to the higher civilization and the clerical influence of Rome, while the Saxon immigrants contrived to retain as much as possible their national independence, which could be less interfered with in insular Albion than in continental Gaul. A language can be many times propagated or regenerated, but it dies as soon as its daughter-languages establish themselves independently, or it ceases to supply a real want. In nature and construction similar, often even identical, yet a mother-language

differs from its daughter-language as a mother from her daughter. This difference is essential and ought not to be overlooked. If Chinese should one day lose its peculiar monosyllabic character, it will be then no more the Chinese of our days, but a new language, however nearly it might be related to the other.

Latin and German, though differing in words and syntax, belong to the same branch of languages, to the Aryan, their mutual position before coming in contact and amalgamating together is therefore not the same as if two totally heterogeneous languages, as Sanskṛit and Tamil,[20] or English and Chinese, were to coalesce into one idiom. The result of such a union it would be difficult to foretell; one might be inclined to think that whichever is the more developed and more highly endowed must gain the ascendency over the other; but mental superiority does not win the victory if not backed by pre-eminence of actual power and number. It is thus not surprising that the grammar of some of the modern Indian vernaculars, though subjected to Aryan influence, is non-Aryan. A language can adopt and create as many words as it pleases without changing its character, but it cannot alter its grammar, its syntax, without becoming another; for grammar represents the innate mode of thought over which the individual person or nation has no real control. A man's limbs are subject to his will, but though he seems to have perfect command over them, this is true only within certain limits. Well-defined laws regulate all his movements. As it is with the movements of the

(20) In South India the Aryan influence not being overwhelming, Sanskṛit words only found admission into the Dravidian languages. In North India on the contrary the Aryans became really rulers, and the consequence was that the so-called Gaurian languages changed their primitive concrete character and reappeared as new distinct tongues, the modern abstract Bengāli, Gujarāti, Marāṭhi, &c. They retained in fact of the original Gaurian only a part of its Vocabulary, and adapted themselves to the grammatical system of their conquerors.

body, so it is with the movements of the mind, and consequently with language.

The natural existence, *i.e.*, the life of languages, differs as to its duration, just as some men die early, others when well stricken in years; but when once dead no artificial preservation can restore life and keep it alive, as is the case with Latin, which after its extinction as a popular tongue, became the learned language of Europe. There is a natural repugnance of the living to the dead, and it is perhaps this feeling which unconsciously but instinctively aggravates the difficulties which render a dead language harder to learn than a living one. The remains of a dead language are naturally limited; we possess, as it were, some bones of its skeleton, represented by the literature which in a more or less preserved or mutilated state has come down to us, but that is all. It is not enough to decide on its position, its extent and development, though it may be enough to show its worth from the mere classification point of view. The actual legacy bequeathed to us from the whole range of the literature of a language is small, as the written language is only represented to a limited extent and the spoken one hardly at all. If one now considers that men do not speak as they write, just as few persons dress when at home with the same care as they would for public view; that the majority of authors use when writing expressions which they would avoid as too high-flown or pedantic when speaking; that so-called vulgarisms or slang words are shunned, it is evident that scholars, when studying dead languages, are deprived in their researches of very important elements. They are compelled to judge from the scanty evidence before them, and as the material at their disposal is incomplete, the result of their investigations must also be imperfect. Of the multitude of dead languages how few have left even so much, how many have totally disappeared, not even their names remaining! Only a few we hope to see rescued from

oblivion, as the Egyptian, Sumerian, and Assyrian have been lately. The difficulty of a scientific study of a living language is on the contrary aggravated by the impossibility of surveying its existence from the beginning to the end.

With the existence of a language expires also its rhythm and music. Whether artificial prose and poetical compositions written by foreign writers in dead languages, as Greek, Latin, Sanskṛit, or Hebrew, however highly they are praised and deserve praise as works of art, would really satisfy the people who spoke those languages is a problem which, however important, will never be solved. But I for one doubt if the Latin verses of Muretus would have been as pleasing to the old Romans as they were to the modern. There exists in every language a peculiar inexpressible charm, which can only be duly appreciated and understood by him who speaks it as his mother tongue, and it is questionable whether any composition in a dead language can possess this singular sweetness. In the same way as people speak their own language without being conscious of its peculiar grammatical construction, so also their national poets compose popular songs and verses in metre and rhyme without being aware of any special rules of rhythm and music. Both grammar and metre belong to a language by nature, and it is therefore as absurd to impose upon a given dialect a foreign grammar, as it is to introduce into a language a strange metre repugnant to its genius.

To obtain an insight into the internal mechanism of a language is by no means easy, though everybody possesses such a mechanism, inasmuch as he is, as it were, a speaking machine himself. When as a child he begins to speak, he is unable to observe how he learns it, and afterwards it has become quite his second nature to speak; in fact he speaks, as he walks or eats, from habit. Spoken language applies itself to the ear, while gesture and picture language apply themselves to the eye. The same things make the same

impression upon the eye, in like manner their pictorial representations must be the same or similar in the various picture-languages and hieroglyphics, and it is not surprising that Egyptian, Chinese, and American hieroglyphics, though originating at different ages, places, and among different men, should resemble each other so much. Where ideas are represented in picture-writing, the figures chosen for description explain the mode of thinking, and thus afford a guide to the thought of the writer. Hieroglyphics are generally drawings copied from the objects of nature they are intended to represent. These pictures refer also to the thoughts, actions, or conditions these same objects produce. Hieroglyphics have thus one sign for all the variations of meaning, an image of the eye expresses as well the eye itself, as sight, to see, visible, &c. This stage of writing corresponds therefore to the monosyllabic or uninflectional stage of speech. Moreover as spoken words are changing and shifting, few words continue the same. Writing preserves words which might otherwise be lost. The real cause of the continual change of words met with in savage languages lies in the want of a fixed literature or of the means of creating and preserving one by writing. As long as books are learnt by heart, and men who know them only thus represent living copies of books, an extensive literature cannot exist. Writing does not alone preserve, but also increases the productions of the mind.

If languages could be found existing in their most ancient form, the process of retracing the mental path in the growth of speech would certainly be much facilitated; but as yet a language which provides us with authentic materials for ascertaining its original enunciations is a desideratum. Only a few words, including those which are derived from the first utterances of children, or which are imitations of sound, or of perceptions of other senses, belong to the earliest stratum of speech; the majority of utterances are of a later

period. This applies as well to the more as to the less developed languages. The character of the individual, and also of the individual language, must be already perceptible in the first enunciations and acts, though it may be difficult, nay, even impossible, clearly to define or specify them afterwards. As individuals differ from each other in their attainments, so also do the languages they speak, and as many men remain throughout their life in a state of childhood, so do certain languages. A child must be younger than a grown-up man, but an intellectually gifted man need not be older than one of smaller capacity. In the former mental development is steadily increasing ; in the latter it remains stationary. It is therefore hazardous to ascribe to languages certain phases of growth through which they have to pass from a lower to a higher development, or from an isolating to a terminational, and finally to an inflectional stage. In reality the characteristic marks of every language are already contained in its primordials, as the seed comprehends the elements of the plant, the egg those of the bird, &c.[21] The supposition that rude dialects of uncultivated nations prove by their actual state of rudeness a great age, or that dialects spoken by modern savages are of later origin than the more developed languages of their civilized contemporaries is incorrect, the right conclusion being that the former belong to a lower *species* of speech. Age in itself does not bear on the decision of this question. The peculiarly clumsy character of Chinese does no more express its antiquity than the constructional perfection of Sanskrit warrants us to refer its origin to a later period. It is, more-

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(21) Compare: De l'origine du langage par Ernest Renan, deuxième édition, 1858, page 16. "Je persiste donc, après dix ans de nouvelles études, à envisager le langage comme formé d'un seul coup, et comme sorti instantanément du génie de chaque race;" and page 20 "La seule chose qui me semble incontestable c'est que l'invention du langage ne fut point le résultat d'un long tâtonnement, mais d'une intuition primitive, qui révéla à chaque race la coupe générale de son discours et le grand compromis qu'elle dut prendre une fois pour toutes avec sa pensée."

over, very remarkable that, as a rule, the earlier periods of highly developed languages display a greater abundance of expressions and of grammatical formations, especially in declensions and conjugations, than is met with at a later and more advanced stage. The savage languages of the Negroes and Papuans may represent a more backward stage, but they do not betray an earlier origin. As languages arise in the infancy of national life, in fact at a time when a nation is in a more or less barbarous state, the civilization which it may afterwards obtain cannot be taken into consideration in an inquiry into comparative philology; and when both savage and civilized nations live at the same time, it is certainly wrong to ascribe to age what does not apply to it.

Two languages may be equally old, and yet one may never have left its primeval undeveloped state, while the other has attained high perfection. As long as a language in its growth does not overstep the natural boundary of its evolution and does not change its laws of development, it only pursues its true course of life; but the admission of new rules, occasioned by foreign pressure, produces a variation which will ultimately cause it to appear as a new peculiar dialect. However far we might pursue our researches respecting the original thoughts and enunciations of the various species of men, and however much these enunciations may have been altered in the course of time as to their outward appearance, the primitive ideas remain throughout the same. Even though the different races of mankind should show in their formation indications which would allow us to presume that the higher classes have been developed from the lower, we may at the same time be quite unable to prove by historical facts that any people, as long as it remained unmixed with foreign elements, has undergone such a change of character respecting its speech. If therefore such a development has occurred, it happened previously to the appearance of the individual forms of speech.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE MORPHOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGE.

The object and aim of speech is communication, which certainly varies in point of clearness and perfection according to the physical and intellectual state of the individual. The ruder the speaker, the cruder the speech. Thus it is not only possible, but even highly probable, that the original enunciations of a language are interjections. If interjections are, according to their nature, as a rule short and monosyllabic, the original roots of words should be also monosyllabic. "Interjections are," as Professor Max Müller observes, "only the outskirts of real language; language begins where interjections end." But these outskirts are already within the bounds of language, and form the lines of its natural frontier. We cannot, therefore, make a *tabula rasa* of these first efforts of speech; their vestiges are retained in the very language whose elementary landmarks they are, however much they may be altered and modified subsequently. Interjections, or whatever name we may give to the main essence of words, precede the other forms of speech; nay, they are most likely the very nucleus from which the latter are formed. A word embodies, as it were, an idea, whether this refers to a concrete object or to an abstract thought. Originally the incoherently uttered word comprised within itself the different variations in meaning as represented later by the different forms of speech. This fact we observe in Old Egyptian, in Chinese, Burmese, and other languages, where *e.g.* "to live, life, alive, and a living being;" "great, to be great, and greatness;" "eye, sight, and to see" are expressed respectively by the same word or sound.[22] This concentration of the various shapes which mental or material essences may assume in one unchangeable body, their

(22) See page 99, and compare Egypt's place in Universal History by Christ. C. I. Bunsen, Vol. I, page 271, and Max Müller's Lectures, Vol. II, page 89.

crystallization in one single form, is most strikingly exhibited in monosyllabic languages, where each word represents to some extent a mere atom.

Monosyllabism is thus considered by many to be original to all languages, though only a few retained it in their later development.[23] The monosyllabic tendency which prevails in some languages is certainly a most interesting feature, productive moreover, where consistently adhered to, of other strange peculiarities, *e.g.*, of a singular mode of pronunciation, intonation, and accentuation;[24] but as the various monosyllabic dialects in different parts of the globe, in Asia, Africa, and America, though agreeing in their outward monosyllabic phenomenon, yet disagree in their internal construction by differently expressing thoughts and ideas, monosyllabism by itself cannot well be raised to a standard of classification, as it is peculiar to many idioms which are dissimilar in other respects.

No doubt the assumption is widely spread, and possesses a considerable semblance of truth, that the characteristic mark of the so-called Semitic languages lies in the dissyllabic formation of their roots; but whether this is really a

(23) Monosyllabism is peculiar to Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese and their kindred languages in Asia; it is ascribed to the African Yoruba (see "A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language, compiled by the Rev. Samuel Crowther, 1852, page 45." "All Yoruba roots are monosyllabic"); to the Californian dialect Euroc, to the Mexican Otomi (see Bancroft, Vol. III, page 641 and 737), and to others. Dr. Schoolcraft in his "Information respecting the Indian tribes of the U. S.," Vol. II, page 419, views the character of the American Indian languages as "radically monosyllabic." "It is found that the primary words, when dissected from their appendages, are chiefly monosyllabic. Many of the words of its vocabulary still retain their character of elementary brevity, as *ais*, a shell; *meen*, a berry; *mong*, a loon; *kaug*, a porcupine; *waub*, to see; *böz*, to embark; *peezh*, to bring; *paup*, to laugh, &c., &c.

(24) The insufficient number of sounds in a monosyllabic language requires a contrivance which compensates for this deficiency. This is effected by the application of various accents, which multiply the meaning of the same syllable. *E.g.*, the Chinese *ma* signifies, according to the varying accent, hemp, horse, quarrel and rubbing; *ya*, stupor, excellent, dumb and tooth. In Yoruba *ki* means either to salute, to be thick, or to press; *ko* to gather, very, or to meet; *ku* to die, to come short, or to blow into dust.

fact remains to be proved by future researches. The majority of Semitic roots display a dissyllabic form, and learned Semitic Grammarians have even assigned to them in ancient times a dissyllabic character, but many of the most important words in Semitic dialects are monosyllabic[25] and it is not beyond the range of possibility that the dissyllabic or triliteral and quadriliteral roots are based on and derived from monosyllabic roots, though the cause which effected this change, if any took place, and the principle followed in this transformation, have not yet been ascertained.

The monosyllabism of roots belonging to the Aryan languages has been clearly proved, and need not be further commented upon.

Even when upholding the principle that every dialect has a monosyllabic beginning, one must not lose sight of the fact that this principle is affected as soon as single ideas are combined. However loosely thoughts are linked together, this juxtaposition must influence them. But this composite idea is still maintained in monosyllabic languages by separate and unmodified symbols.[26]

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(25) On the other hand we ought also to bear in mind that monosyllabic words have been occasionally formed by contraction of dissyllabic and polysyllabic roots.

(26) Compare: The Principles of Comparative Philology, by A. H. Sayce, second edition, page 74. "No canon is so often laid down by glottologists as that the roots of all languages are monosyllabic. And yet this assertion rests simply upon the fact that such is the case in the Aryan family. It is true that Chinese may sometimes be called in to corroborate, or rather to illustrate, this belief; but then we are too little acquainted with the primitive form of Chinese to say what was the original nature of its radicals." Dr. Caldwell takes a decidedly different view of this question. In the introduction to the second edition of his Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, he says on pages 74 and 75: "Not Chinese only, but Sanskrit and Hebrew are now known to have been originally monosyllabic, and the monosyllabic character of most Dravidian roots, if not of all, will appear in every section of this work." These two quotations, coming as they do from learned scholars, and containing opinions so diametrically opposed to each other, are sufficient evidence of the backward state of our knowledge respecting questions about the primitive state of speech in general and of special languages in particular.

In the morphological classification, monosyllabism represents the first stage, the radical or isolating; the two remaining are the terminational or agglutinative, and the inflectional or amalgamating. There is no doubt that the system expounded in this morphological classification is equally feasible and at first sight convincing. But on the other hand can we anywhere, in any dead or living language, point out such a gradual change? Or in case that languages exist, where such changes are still occurring, can such a classification be accepted as final? Or can it be regarded as a sufficient classification, when it contains under each division languages which are totally dissimilar?[27]

Every language must, in the course of its development, pass through certain phases of growth, but only within the sphere of its peculiar system does it get to maturity. Such a development took place as well in Chinese as in Tamil and in Sanskṛit, but what reasons can we produce for arguing that Chinese remained stationary in the first (radical) stage, that Tamil passed through it to the second (terminational), and that Sanskṛit outstripped Tamil on the road to further perfection? Sanskṛit represents a higher development than does either Chinese or Tamil, but the exact manner, in which Sanskṛit attained its perfection, is not known. Every language, when used as a medium of communication, has already reached a certain state of maturity, and its preceding childhood is screened from view. The divergence in the growth and constitution of languages can only be accounted for by differences in thought and intuition. Neither can a difference merely of place, time, occupation, or mode of living account for such a discrepancy. With regard to mode of life we may take the case of the Bedouins

(27) Compare Professor Sayce's Principles of Comparative Philology, Chapter IV. "The theory of three stages of development in the history of language," pages 132–174.

and Mongolians, who are both nomads, and speak totally different languages.

Moreover, the peculiar principle which guides the external development of a language—whether it be monosyllabic, incorporative, euphonic, alliteral, agglutinative, or inflectional—is not a safe criterion by which to measure the mental capabilities of those who speak such dialects. The real test of a language consists in its being able to express lucidly, and to communicate distinctly, all the various modulations of ideas which occur to the speaker. A mechanic who, having only most imperfect instruments at his disposal, yet manufactures with them highly artistic and elaborately executed specimens of art, competing successfully with workmen who accomplish the same task with the help of superior tools, is esteemed to be endowed with at least equal, if not with higher, attainments than his rival. Assuredly then ought a man who contrives to expound clearly through the medium of a crude and unwieldy language the subtlest and most intricate ideas and subjects—as a Chinese discusses in his language very abstruse philosophical problems—be credited with considerable faculties.[28] He accomplishes an intellectual feat in spite of difficulties which are not encountered by a person who speaks an apparently more highly developed language. The dialect also which can be handled in so successful a manner, can no longer be despised or regarded to be wanting in refinement.

(28) Compare Renan l. c. page 44, 45 : " De même les langues indo-europé. ennes et sémitiques n'ont pas commencé par être analogues au Chinois. Les divers systèmes de langues sont des partis adoptés une fois pour toutes par chaque race ; ils ne sortent pas les uns des autres, " and page 94, " Chaque famille d'idiomes est donc sortie du génie de chaque race, sans effort comme sans tâtonnement." See also Sayce l.c., page 141 : " Chinese civilisation is the oldest now existing in the world ; its origin is lost in myth, and its continuity is unbroken. And yet its founders spoke an isolating language, while their barbarian neighbours on the west were in the more advanced and civilised stage of agglutination," and page 143 : "All goes to show that an isolating or agglutinative stage does not imply civilisation or the reverse."

Though man as a species is one, every body admits that the species contains many varieties. Why, therefore, should the difference which is plainly perceptible in the outward formation of race not correspond to a difference in the method of shaping ideas as expressed by language? If an African Negro, an American Redskin, an Asiatic Tatar remains what he is, and cannot be transformed into a Bedouin or a Highlander, why should the language he speaks be supposed to be changed contrary to its nature?

The capabilities of men lie within certain well-defined limits, beyond which there is no progress. This fact applies also to the languages they speak; and, however gradual this development from infancy to maturity may be, our present knowledge does not enable us to describe step by step the stages passed through. Individual capacity and incapacity are left to their own devices on their way onward, and though the duller man may progress slowly and halt midway towards the final aim reached by the more gifted competitor, both may not pursue the same direction, and where the former prefers a roundabout road the latter may choose a short cut.

To observe and to mark the external peculiarities and diversities occurring in languages is no doubt of very considerable importance, because, without a minute knowledge of the details, a proper insight into the total cannot be obtained; but such a proceeding ought to be supplemented, as was pointed out before, by an investigation into the causes which produced those peculiarities. No doubt such a research, supported rather by philosophical considerations than founded on historical proofs, has to encounter great difficulties; but if it were once rightly started and pursued, the results of such examinations must necessarily strengthen the correctness of observations applied to the external construction. The internal process of thought ought to reappear in the external form of speech, and if

these two branches are well studied, the results derived from their investigation will coincide, and will, when joined together, constitute the true basis of the science of language. Were a medical man to consult the external symptoms only which he perceives on his patient, and to try to mitigate or heal the disease without possessing any knowledge of the human body, and unaware of the origin and the seat of the complaint, could he arrive at a true estimate of the nature of the disease and effectually cure it?

So long as the external signs alone are considered the proper starting-points, so long will linguistic inquiries fail to reach the ultimate aim, for the offshoots are mistaken for the roots, and the results are investigated instead of the causes which produced them. Two points at least are required to define the direction of a straight line; at least two, if not more points must be known, in order to assign to a language its place and rank in the kingdom of speech.

Having thus contended that the mental agencies at work for the development of an idiom manifest themselves by the manner in which they are expressed, this assertion must, in order to be proved, be supported by evidence, and a search be consequently instituted to ascertain whether words or expressions are still extant which afford sufficient means for such investigations. As the analysis of a rock or soil informs us of its chemical constituents and reveals to us its nature, so also will a critical examination of primitive words provide us with material for a psychological classification of languages.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF TERMS OF KINSHIP.

It may be assumed as a fact that in those mysterious days when men began first to use speech as a medium of intercourse, there prevailed a certain simplicity or rather

unrestraint. The tie of clanship, however it originated, was strong; in fact the bond of relationship was the only acknowledged union among those who first settled down as a family and established among themselves some sort of community. The most important information for the individual to receive was to know to whom he was related, and how near of kin he was to his relation. Under these circumstances, when the knowledge of one's own family connections was a matter of paramount necessity, in fact when existence itself often depended on that information, it is not too much to presume that the expressions which explained such a fact were a subject of great importance and consideration, and contained and showed in their construction sure traces of mental activity—one may perhaps say the earliest signs of thought. For these reasons words denoting consanguinity are well worthy of our consideration.

It is in the home that language becomes an actual necessity. A man who lives by himself, apart from human beings, does not require speech. But when once the system of companionship of a family is introduced, circumstances are changed. Judging from probabilities we may conclude that man and wife, especially in primeval times, belonged to one and the same race, though this race may possibly have been split up into numerous, generally even hostile clans. It does not matter for our purpose what sort of domestic life is prevailing, whether it is founded on polyandry, polygyny, or monogamy; the difference in the forms of marriage does not affect the construction of the words denoting the nearest degrees of consanguinity. Those three species of companionship have always existed in the human race, and are at this very moment to be met with among numerous tribes in various parts of the earth. Nations have repeatedly altered their marriage customs, have exchanged polyandry for polygyny or monogamy, but

their terms expressing the relationship of father, mother, son, daughter, brother and sister remained the same; that is, the change occurring in their domestic arrangements did not produce any corresponding change in their language.[29]

Thus among the Aryan nations all these three varieties of wedlock have had their turn, but the terms of kinship follow throughout unaltered the same principle of formation. The old Indian epic contains the story of Draupadī and her five husbands, the famous Pāṇḍavas, and of Paṇḍu, their father, the husband of two wives. The same conservatism in language can be witnessed elsewhere, among Semitic, and many other races whose manners with respect to marriage changed, but where also such change in life did not make itself felt in speech.

The truth is that the position of the individual remains comparatively unaffected by alterations in the terms of marriage. The relationship between mother and child is natural, clear and immutable ; that between father and child is settled according to the prevailing custom, not the less is this the case among brothers and sisters.

The first material change in a young household is the birth of a child, and those who were previously living together as man and wife become respectively father and mother. It is the child which confers on its parents the dignity of fatherhood and motherhood, and it appears therefore only proper that the names it gives to its father and mother should give rise to a set of words which afterwards denote their respective duties. The words for father and mother are thus, in the great majority of languages, identical with

(29) We therefore cannot at all agree with Mr. Lewis H. Morgan when he contends in his elaborate "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family," that the terms of relationship are dependent on the form of connubium in vogue among the various nations; compare pages 467 and ff.

the first sounds a child pronounces, and these sounds, if once permanently applied to signify father and mother, form afterwards the roots for words which convey the chief qualities supposed to be found in parents when regarded from a filial point of view. It is thus not surprising that, *e.g.*, the Sanskṛit roots *pā* and *mā* convey the meaning of feeding or protecting, and of making or measuring, as they appropriately express the qualities expected to be found in a father (pitṛi) or mother (mātṛi). Such an origin of the words father and mother has been often and long ago suggested,[30] but many scholars, and among them scholars of the first rank, as Professor Max Müller,[31] are still averse to this explanation, and prefer to derive the noun from the verb, that is *pitṛi* from *pā*, *mātṛi* from *mā* (the *tṛi* being the well known Sanskṛit Kṛitaffix). However this may be, the origin of the words for father and mother (whether they are derived from childish babbling, their sources then lying in natural causes alone, or whether they are a product of argumentative reasoning, the former explanation appearing much more plausible than the latter) is for us in this inquiry a matter of small importance, for the formation of parental words does not require any special mental exertions.

There are, on the other hand, words of relationship whose construction requires a certain amount of reflection in consequence of their more complicated nature, and which, showing in their external formation some thoughtful consideration, provide us with a clue for explaining idiomatic peculiarities, and thus assist us in our scheme of classification.

Comparing, as far as we are able to do, the words denoting kinship with each other, as they occur in the several

(30) See: The Origin of Civilization, by Sir John Lubbock, second edition, page 328; Sayce, pages 323-25.

(31) See: Chips from a German Workshop, by Max Müller, second edition, Vol. II, page 23.

languages, one most peculiar feature will immediately become apparent. The manner of naming is twofold. The one shows a tendency to observe a certain most prominent quality in a person or in an object, and to name its possessor accordingly ; the other deals with the individual specimen as a concrete body, distinguishable from a similar one by a constitutional difference, such as sex, &c., which discriminating mark is separately added or peculiarly expressed. This distinction, in order to be recognized as really existing, must show itself throughout the system, at all events in the nearest and more important degrees of affinity. The character possessed by parents must, to some extent, reappear in their children ; the same peculiarity which guides the mind of parents when naming their children, must manifest itself in their children when they address each other as brothers and sisters.

The languages in which parents call their children sons or daughters, and in which those sons and daughters call each other brothers and sisters, are different in thought—that is in expression and construction—from those where the former are known by the name of male children and female children, and the latter by that of elder or younger brother and sister. The difference between those two modes of expression is that the one manifests a power of abstraction, which is wanting in the other, as it adheres to the concrete substance. The inclination towards abstractness and concreteness would not be so significant and deserving of notice, if it did not show itself in other forms again and again in various expressions of a language, corroborating the tendency observed in the denomination of relations.

The custom which prevails among many tribes of using terms of kinship instead of proper nouns as mode of address among relatives enhances the importance of such words. Strangers may have recourse to surnames or bye-names while

conversing with each other, but relations do not use them in familiar conversation, and prefer, in their stead, words expressing the exact degree of affinity existing between the parties. This mode of address is found still among many nations, *e.g.*, among the inhabitants of South India as well as among the Australians and the Indians of North America.[32] It also most probably accounts for the peculiar custom of dispensing with proper names, which prevails, as we hear, so often among savages. So ancient a writer as C. Plinius Secundus mentions it as occurring among the Atlantes.[33]

Actual relationship is, on the other hand, not always required to induce people to address others by such terms of kinship. Respect towards age or rank inspires juniors or inferiors to call their seniors or superiors *father* or *mother*, while kindness or condescension makes the latter address the former by the terms "son" or "daughter." In fact, by using such words of relationship a certain familiarity, an acknowledgment of consanguinity is produced, which is flattering to the humble and not degrading to the mighty. If the Czar of Russia calls his subjects children, and they call him father, each party understands what is meant by these terms

(32) See: Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity, by L. Morgan, page 132; "American Indians always speak to each other, when related, by the term of relationship, and never by the personal name of the individual addressed. In familiar intercourse, and in formal salutation, they invariably address each other by the exact relationship of consanguinity or affinity in which they stand related.—It is not only the custom to salute by kin, but an omission to recognize in this manner a relative would, amongst most of these nations, be a discourtesy amounting to an affront.—It would be a violation of good manners for an Indian to speak to another Indian by his name." Dr. Schoolcraft, Vol. II, page 454, says: "It is next to impossible to induce an Indian to utter personal names. The utmost he will do is to move his lips, without speaking, in the direction of the person."—"The blacks of Australia have great objections to speak of a person by name. They address the person spoken to as brother, cousin, friend, or whatever relation the person spoken to bears;" see: The Aborigines of Victoria, by R. Brough Smyth, Vol. II., page 94.

(33) See: C. Plinii Secundi Natur. Hist. Lib. V., cap. 8, "Nam neque nominum ullorum inter eos (Atlantes) appellatio est."

of endearment. Equals prefer to address each other as brother and sister.[34] This is a common mode of naming, especially among nations who retain a certain amount of caste or clan feeling. If it prevails among people who speak a concrete language, the terms "elder" and "younger brother" or "sister" enable the speakers to combine the expressions of deference or condescension even while admitting or claiming equality. This is expressed when in South India people call each other *anna* or *tambi*, &c. A remnant of this custom exists in the form in which reigning princes address each other when they call their equals in rank and power brothers, sisters, and their inferiors by a more distant term of kindred, as cousins.

From this concrete mode of address, by means of the words of relationship, to the practice of using an abstract and now more common form of address, represented by the pronoun, is a wide step; but these terms of consanguinity and the pronouns retain a certain affinity and connection between each other, which manifests itself in the manner in which both ignore or express gender.

CHAPTER V.

DIVISION OF LANGUAGES INTO CONCRETE AND ABSTRACT LANGUAGES.

According to the propensity towards concreteness and abstractness given in the previous chapter, we propose to divide all languages into two classes, into concrete and abstract languages. Both divisions are in their turn

(34) A Kashmiri addresses his superior as *Huta sah*, oh sir; an equal as *Huta bá*, oh brother; an inferior as *Ható*, holla. An elderly woman equal in rank is accosted as *Hata didd*, oh mother; one equal in age and rank as *Hata biny*, oh sister; one who is older but inferior in rank as *Hata maaj*, oh mother; one who is inferior in rank without reference to age is addressed *Hatai*, holla. A boy is called *Hato nechivyá*, oh son; or *Hato shuryá*, oh child; a girl *Hata koori*, oh daughter. See: Asiat. Soc. of Bengal Journal, Vol. XIII, page 565.

rearranged into groups. Into these groups are then classed the various languages, conformably to the differences they exhibit in their external appearance, whether it be incorporative, as the American; alliteral, as the African; monosyllabic, agglutinative, or inflectional.

Whatever expressions are used in a language belong either to the region of the concrete or the abstract. Concrete matter surrounds us everywhere. Its presence is perceptible to the senses. Everybody is more or less acquainted with it, and it becomes available for producing greater clearness in the explanation of difficult subjects. All that has to be done is to point out the similarity existing in the matter to be explained to the concrete that is already known. The use of well selected parallels invests language with great power. The more the mental disposition inclines towards concreteness, and the less it tends towards abstractness, the clearer and more distinct will be the expressions used in speech so long as they refer to material objects, but the more complicated and unintelligible if they are directed to abstract thought. Thus savage or uncivilized tribes will be conciser in their descriptions of concrete things than are more civilized nations; but they are confused and intricate when they have to grapple with abstract ideas. Savages all over the earth, in Asia, Africa, America, and Australia, provide us with many instances of this kind. As abstraction is the result of deduction from the concrete, it is in consequence posterior in time to it. It presupposes a deductive analytic faculty, which is not common to all. The capability of passing from concreteness to abstractness is the touchstone of languages.

While concrete dialects are thus originally without names for abstract qualities, abstract languages retain the ability to use concrete expressions, though perhaps in a lower degree. The peculiar force and impressiveness of the Biblical

language is due to the use of concrete forms of speech wherever emotions or affections are concerned.

As abstractness is of later origin than concreteness, the ability to define the peculiar substance of an object, or its main concrete qualities, must have been obtained after a careful consideration of its component parts. Abstractive power presupposes therefore a certain degree of superior mental activity.

Wherever we find in a language a prevalence of concrete expressions of relationship, such as "*male child*," "*elder brother*," and also find that an abstract word for son or brother, unless it has been introduced from or framed in imitation of a foreign language, does not exist in it, that dialect will be enrolled among the members of the concrete class. The absence of such concrete and the presence of abstract terms in a language does not, on the other hand, necessarily prove that such a language is an abstract one. For there are many instances of concrete languages adopting, in consequence of their connection with abstract tongues, abstract expressions, and of neglecting, and in the course of time even forgetting, their own indigenous terms. This is, *e.g.*, the case in Finnish, where the originally Teutonic words *Tüter* and *Sisar* replace the Finnish terms for daughter and sister. But in most of these cases the primitive, though hidden, tendency towards concreteness will be eventually detected, when a comparison is instituted between these dialects, and others which are kindred to them, and which have retained their own phraseology.

It may appear astonishing, but it is not the less true, that a language unless it undergoes a radical change by which its nature is totally altered and a new dialect created,[35] does

(35) As, *e.g.*, the Gauḍian languages, when they were metamorphosed into abstract Prākṛits.

not change the characteristic inclination which it manifests in the expression of the different degrees of consanguinity, though the terms themselves may be changed and modified repeatedly. The concrete or abstract words of relationship are merely a reflection of the concrete or abstract character of the people and its language, and this character is not affected even if such terms vary according to peculiar idiosyncrasies. Concrete languages as Finnish may, as has just been mentioned, adopt abstract expressions instead of their own concrete terms; but a research into the history of such formations will soon betray their foreign origin, and reveal the cause of the presence of the foreign element. Abstract languages will never discard their abstract tendency; special terms may change, but the principle which they represent remains intact.

The terms *duhitṛi* and *bhrātṛi*, daughter and brother, were not, we may be sure, the words first used to denote the relationship of daughter and brother among the people whose language developed itself later into Sanskṛit, but they are at all events the representatives of previous abstract terms. Abstract languages are able to form, and form indeed at times, concrete terms; but the presence of original abstract expressions decides the question. Moreover it is a curious fact that highly developed abstract idioms, especially when they have reached the analytic stage, *e. g.*, English, betray an inclination towards concrete formations and an aversion to grammatical terminations; but such seeming aberrations do not destroy the innate leaning towards abstractness, though they may be quoted as an instance of the truth of the old proverb *les extrèmes se touchent.*

Taking then the words denoting kinship as expressions which most accurately mark the character of a language, as it reappears again and again in the various grammatical and syntactical formations, they will serve as a guide in

the subsequent arrangement.[36] In order to avoid prolixity as much as possible, only such terms of affinity will be considered, as contain most clearly those concrete and abstract characteristics which are so decisive for classification. Unless it be necessary, no terms will be discussed other than those of father, mother, child, son (boy), daughter (girl), brother and sister; for they are not only the nearest degrees of kinship from which the others emanate, but they betray sufficiently for this inquiry the natural disposition of a language.

CHAPTER VI.

FORMATION OF THE TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP IN CONCRETE AND ABSTRACT LANGUAGES.

Every individual represents as a member of a family, within that family, the centre of certain circles whose radii express by their length the differences in the various degrees of relationship. In order to find the exact spot in the periphery which indicates the place occupied by his relative, corresponding to the degree of affinity, two more points ought to be supplied, so as to represent sex and age. If one semicircle is allotted to the male, the other to the

(36) Want of sufficient material necessitates the omission of many languages. Defects of this kind must be expected, when such an investigation takes place at a distant city like Madras, where a good consulting library cannot but remain a great desideratum. Many hundreds of dialects have been compared, and as the result of these observations coincides with the system to be proposed, the conclusion that it will prove valid even when applied to languages, which being beyond reach could not be consulted, may perhaps appear not too presumptuous. Owing to questionable, untrustworthy, or perhaps even erroneous information, which has escaped condign criticism, and was adopted for want of better, mistakes in the grouping have no doubt occurred. Languages may have even been wrongly assigned to divisions, to which they do not belong. However great such mistakes may be, they will, I trust, not affect the soundness of the system at large, in spite of all its shortcomings; for the principle at issue rests on general and wide propositions, and is not founded on isolated examples which could be impugned.

female sex, the manner in which to determine sex is settled. Age will be defined by subdividing the periphery in such a way as is necessary; the higher quadrant being allotted to seniority, the lower to juniority (*a*) (*see plate*).

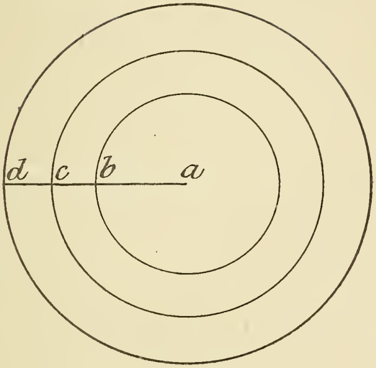
The question regarding age does not arise in the nearest relationships, in those of parent and child. Parents must be older than their children, and the latter, *vice versâ*, younger than the former. In parentage and filiation sex alone need be determined, in order to know whether the individual concerned is a father or mother, a son or daughter. Ego stands to his father in exactly the same position as Ego's son stands to Ego; to his grandfather as his grandson to him, and so on. The actual distance of relationship is respectively the same in both cases. This is perhaps the reason why a Spokane Redskin, when he speaks of his father's father and of his son's son, calls both Is-hēh-pa.[37]

In all abstract and in nearly all concrete languages the words signifying father and mother can be traced to the simple and unconscious exclamations of children, whatever these may be. Such sounds are generally composed of the easily pronounceable vowel *a*, preceded or followed by a consonant, the articulation of which offers to an infant the least difficulty; and which varies accordingly. The words distinguishing between father and mother once settled, the child learns gradually, whether it has to call its father or mother *pa* or *ma*, *ata* or *ana*, &c., &c.

But this is not the only mode of naming. A child, especially if it has been brought into closer contact only with one of its parents (this will be as a rule its mother), regards this parent as *the* parent, and gives to that person a peculiar name. When it has afterwards become

(37) The Spokane belong to the Salish (Flat-head) nations, who dwell between the Rocky and Cascade Mountains. See *L. H. Morgan's* Systems of Consanguinity, page 245.

No. 1.

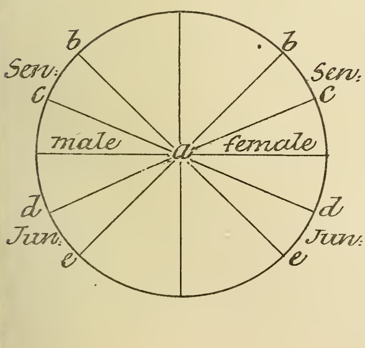


b ——— a { represents the radius of the relationship between a parent and a child.

c ——— a .... Do. .... between brothers or sisters.

d ——— a .... Do. .... do: ..... cousins.

No. 2.



Brothers.	Sisters.
Elder brother	Elder Sister.
Second elder "	Second elder "
Third " "	Third " "
Fourth " "	Fourth " "
Fifth " "	Fifth " "
Younger brother	Younger Sister.

aware of the existence of two parents it preserves the original term, which loses its primitive application to a certain individual, and being taught to affix to it the words denoting male or female, distinguishes between the male parent or father and the female parent or mother. This nomenclature prevails, *e.g.*, among the Nancowry islanders, as well as among the Hawaians and other kindred tribes. The former call their father *Tjia nkonje* (parent male) and mother *Tjia enkana* (parent female), the latter call the same persons *Makua kana* and *Makua vahina* (parent male and parent female) respectively.

We might here mention the well known fact, that in consequence of modulation of voice, which effects a change in the sound of the letter, a word may assume a different meaning. Thus altered in pronunciation and sense it becomes in course of time a separate term, and the former identity of the two words is forgotten.

The variation of sound is often produced by means of sex. The same word is differently uttered by a man and a woman, inasmuch as their voices vary. This vocal diversity does not exercise any material influence in more highly cultivated languages, but among uncivilized tribes the organs of sense are keener: everything which attracts their attention is instantly observed and made use of.

The division of letters into hard and soft or into close and open, and the application of this principle to speech, is the foundation of the euphonic system met with among so distant tribes as the Tungusians of Asia, the Negroes of Africa, and the Redskins of America. Distinct classes of vowels exist in the Yoruba dialect.[38] The

(38) See: Introductory remarks on the Yoruba language to the "Yoruba Grammar," compiled by the Rev. Samuel Crowther, page 8. "The vowels of the Yoruba language are apparently made to form two separate classes, according to the closeness or openness of their sound. In the Yoruba the euphonic changes affect the vowel sound alone."

euphonic character of the South African tongues,[39] based as it is on the alliteral concords of the initial sounds, differs from the former in its further development, but the propensity of assimilating the sound is common to both. The principle of vocal harmony is inculcated in Mongolian, Tungusian, Turkish, Finnish and Dravidian[40] languages. Most of the dialects of America[41] equally submit to its sway.

It is among Asiatic and American dialects that the diversity of sound is often employed to express the difference between male and female sex, instead of describing it by using the adjectives "male" and "female." The term which was originally adopted expressed both, but in the course of time the difference of sex was marked by difference of sound. The softer voice being peculiar to women, the softer sound, or what was considered to be so, was chosen to denote the female sex, and the harder tone was applied to designate male individuals. This mode of determining, however singular it may appear at first sight, rests upon a discrimination based on practical experience. A few examples suffice for explanation. In the Mandshu language *Chacha* signifies man, *Cheche* woman; *Ama* father, *Eme* mother; *Ahun* elder brother, *Eiun* elder sister; in

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(39) See in the first volume of the Journal of the American Oriental Society the essays on the Zulu language by the Rev. James C. Bryant, page 388, and that by the Rev. Lewis Grout, pages 423-25, and compare the preface to the Rev. William J. Davis' Kaffir language, page iv.

(40) Compare "M. Alexander Castrén's Grammatik der Samojedischen Sprachen; herausgegeben von Anton Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1854, pages 18, 23; §53." Unter Vocalharmonie versteht man in den Altaischen Sprachen das durch die Anforderungen des Wohllauts bedingte Gesetz, dass die Vocale in der ersten oder Stammsilbe des Worts in gewissem Grade die Art und Beschaffenheit der Vocale in den nachfolgenden Silben bestimmen. Dieses Gesetz zeigt in den verschiedenen Sprachen manche Verschiedenheiten, aber für die meisten Türkischen, Finnischen und Mongolischen Sprachen gelten indessen folgende allgemeine Bestimmungen.

(41) Compare F. L. O. Röhrig's Essay "On the Language of the Dakota or Sioux Indians" in the Smithsonian Report of 1871, page 437.

Tungusian *Akmu* is elder brother, *Ekmü* elder sister; in Teleutish the same relations are called *Aga* and *Ege*. In Finnish *Ukko* is "old man" and *Akka* "old woman." With this coincides Hungarian, where *Ak* stands for elder brother and *Uk* for grandmother (old woman). In the Dakota language *Cinski* means son, *Cunski* daughter; *Cin* elder brother, *Cun* elder sister; *Hepan* second son, *Hapan* second daughter.[42] The language of the Abipones furnishes additional proof of this noteworthy peculiarity. In this concrete tongue the pronoun of the third person varies according to the situation of the person of whom we speak. If that person is present, and is a man, he is called *Eneha*; if a woman, she is called *Anaha*; if he be sitting the right term is *Hiñiha*, if she be sitting it is *Hañiha*; if he be walking and seen it is *Ehaha*, if she walking and seen it is *Ahaha*.[43]

The most important difference existing between children when regarded from a parental view, is offered undoubtedly by sex. Concrete languages do systematically exclude gender, they do not—a very few instances excepted—possess equivalent terms for such abstract words as "boy" or "son," "girl" or "daughter," but preferring as their starting-point the genderless or neutral expression "child," join to it the sexual determinatives "male" or "female." Occasionally even the word *child* is omitted, and the terms male or female are deemed sufficient to denote son or daughter. *E.g.*, in the Yoruba, Hawaian, Karen and Telugu languages "child" is respectively expressed by *Oma*, *Kaiki*, *Pho* and *Biḍḍa*, "male" by *kuri*, *kana*, *khwa* and *moga*, and "female" by *bere*, *vahina*, *mu* and *āḍa*. A boy is therefore respectively called *Oma kuri*, *Kaiki kana*, *Pho khwa* and *Moga biḍḍa*, and

(42) Compare F. L. O. Röhrig, l. c.

(43) See: An Account of the Abipones from the Latin of Martin Dobrizhoffer. London, 1822, Vol. II, page 166.

a girl *Oma bere, Kaiki vahina, Pho mu* and *Áḍa biḍḍa.*[44] In Tulu *Án* means "male and boy," *Punnu* "female and girl." In Turkish, Tuda and Samoyedish *Kiz, Kukh* and *Ne* signify both "female and daughter."

When contrasting this mode of expression with that adopted by abstract dialects, we directly perceive that the words chosen for "boy" and "son," "girl" and "daughter" indicate certain qualities usually ascribed to children. We may remark here, that we do not contend that concrete expressions of relationship were never used in abstract languages, but we say that if they were used that they were dropped at a very early stage, so that hardly any traces of them can now be found in any abstract language. In the Semitic languages we meet with words signifying "son" and "daughter," but no *boná fide* equivalent for child. From this fact we infer—and on closer investigation this conclusion will be corroborated—that a third or neuter gender does not exist in the Semitic group of languages. Its presence among the Aryan branch is evidence of the existence of a term for child.

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(44) In the Sumerian language which has lately been discovered by the eminent cuneiform decipherer Professor Julius Oppert, *Tur* signifies child, *us* male, and *rak* female. *Tur-us* therefore signifies "boy, son," and *Tur-rak* "girl, daughter." In a printed letter addressed to M. E. de Ujfalvy Professor Oppert suggests, that the Sumerians can be properly styled Turanians in consequence of their language containing this word *Tur*. Professor Sayce is, I believe, mistaken, when he says, l.c., page 268: "in Accadian 'daughter' was denoted by *sal-tur*, literally 'woman-son.'" As Accadian is, what is generally termed, a Semitic dialect and therefore an abstract language, such a formation is impossible. Professor Sayce alludes to the concrete Sumerian, and here *tur* means originally "child, and as the child *kat' exochēn* is the son, *tur* can be used in this sense when standing alone, but when it is joined with such a word like "female" *tur* can only signify child. When I heard that Sumerian was declared to be a Scythian or Turanian language, I was persuaded that under these circumstances no terms corresponding to "boy, son, girl, daughter, brother and sister" would be found in it, and on further inquiry, I was informed that such abstract words do not exist in Sumerian.

Languages.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.	Son.	Daughter.
Hebrew ..	..	Yeled, Ben, &c.	Yaldah, Bath, &c.	Ben[45].	Bath.
Arabic ..	..	Welad.	Welidet.	Ibn, Welad.	Bint.
Sanskrit ..	Toka, Apatya.	Bāla, Kumāra.	Bālā, Kanyā, &c.	Putra,[46] Suta.	Duhitṛi,[47] Sutā.
Greek ..	Teknon, Nēpion.	Pais, Koros.	Pais, Korē.	Hyios.	Thygatēr.
German ..	Kind.	Knabe.	Mädchen[48].	Sohn.	Tochter.

Parentage and filiation admit therefore only two essential component parts, those representing kinship and sex. The relationship existing between brothers and sisters, being of a more complex nature, includes besides a third element, that of age.[49] It is a significant feature

(45) "Ben" is connected with the verb *bānāh*, to build, in the sense of building a house (bayith) by progeny; *ben* is therefore, he who represents the continuation of the family, the son.

(46) Putra is *pu* + *tra*, the well known Kritaffix. The first syllable is probably only an expression of caress addressed by the parents to the child, in imitation most likely of childish sounds. The Latin *puer*, and in the reduplicated forms of *pupus* and *pupa* (compare the German *puppe*), the German *Bube*, the English *boy*, &c. are its representatives. The birth of a son ensures the happiness of his father. He clears after the death of his father the departed spirit from all mundane impurity. Hence the meaning of the root *pū*, to purify. The derivation of *putra* from *put-tra* "saving from hell (put)" already extant in the Dharmaśāstra of Manu, IX, 138—

"Punnāmno narakādyasmāt trāyate pitaram sutaḥ,
Tasmāt putra iti proktaḥ svayameva svayambhuvā,"

though ingenious and pretty, is devoid of all real foundation. If any exact etymological meaning can be ascribed to the word *putra*, it is that of purifier.

Suta (Hyios, Sohn, Son) from *su*, to beget, bring forth, is "the begotten," "brought forth," the son.

(47) Duhitṛi, from *duh* to milk, the "milk-maid," indicating the principal household duty of a daughter in a primitive family. If *duhitṛi* is explained as *drawing milk from the mother*, it can be objected, that a boy does the same thing. In Liṅgayya Sūri's Commentary to Amarakosha we read *dogdhi dhanaharaṇena riktīkaroti pitarau duhitā*, *i.e.*, "a daughter milks, empties her parents by taking away wealth" through her marriage.

(48) Mädchen is a diminutive of *Magd*, maid; this neuter diminutive can be compared with the Greek *to meirakion*, boy.

(49) It ought not to be omitted that words expressing age are occasionally used even in connection with "father," "mother," and "child." The

that these terms of consanguinity should include age, which is subject to continual change.

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paternal and maternal brothers and sisters are often distinguished in such a manner. This form of appellation is in vogue among the American Indians as well as among the Dravidians and other non-Aryan Hindus. When such terms as "youngest father," *Kanishṭhapitā* occur in Sanskṛit, their origin is due most likely to foreign influence. In the Dravidian languages these names are of frequent occurrence; in Telugu, *e.g.*, the father's elder brother is called *peda nāyana* or *pettaṇḍri* (big father), the father's younger brother *chinnāyana* or *pinataṇḍri* (little father), the mother's elder sister is *peddamma* or *pettalli* (big mother), and the mother's younger sister is *chinnamma* or *pinatalli* (little mother).

Australians and Americans assign according to age different names to children. Thus among the natives near Adelaide predominate the following nominations:—

		if male, is called	if female
First	child	.. Kertameru.	Kertanya.
Second	,,	.. Warritya.	Warriarto.
Third	,,	.. Kudnatya.	Kudnarto.
Fourth	,,	.. Monaitya.	Monarto.
Fifth	,,	.. Milaitya.	Milarto.
Sixth	,,	.. Marrutya.	Marruarto.
Seventh	,,	.. Wongutya.	Wongwarto.
Eighth	,,	.. Ngarlaitya.	Ngarlarto.
Ninth	,,	.. ..	..

			if male	if female
or in the Parnkalla dialect			Piri.	Kartanye.
Do.	do.	do.	Wari.	Wayuru (Waruyu).
Do.	do.	do.	Kunni.	Kunta.
Do.	do.	do.	Munni.	Munnaka.
Do.	do.	do.	Marri.	Marrukko.
Do.	do.	do.	Yarri.	Yarranta
Do.	do.	do.	Milli.	Mellakka.
Do.	do.	do.	Wangguyu.	Wanngurtu.
Do.	do.	do.	Ngallai.	Ngallka.

See Dr. Bleek "On the Position of the Australian Languages" in the Journal of the Anthrop. Inst., Vol. I, page 97, and compare besides in Vol. II, pages 263-65, the peculiar system of classification of children in use among Australians.

Mr. Morgan (l. c. page 181) notices the same fact among the Dakotas. For among these the

		in Winnebagoe	in Isauntie
First	son is called	Koo no kä.	Chä was kä.
Second	,,	Ha na kä.	Ha pan nä.
Third	,,	Hä kä kä.	Ha pe na.
Fourth	,,	Nä khe kä.	Chä nä tan.
Fifth	,,	Na kha kho no kä.	Hä kä.

The non-existence of words equivalent to brother and sister in a language must be, to those who converse in abstract tongues and who are accustomed to them from their earliest childhood, a very striking phenomenon; but an examination into this subject will soon disclose the fact that the absence of such terms is the rule and their presence the exception.

The concrete tendency discloses itself in various formations, which represent pretty nearly the different stages of development. All concrete languages can possess a general expression of consanguinity[50] irrespective of sex and age, *e.g.*, in the Khasi dialects *Para* denotes consanguinity pure and simple, but to distinguish between brother and sister

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	in Winnebagoe	in Isauntie
First daughter is called	E noo kä.	We no kä.
Second ,,	Wa hun kä.	Hä pan
Third ,,	Ak khe ä kä.	Hä pes ten nä.
Fourth ,,	E nuk ha kä.	Wan ska.
Fifth ,,	Ah kse gäho no kä.	We hä ka.

Compare also the Rev. S. R. Riggs, M.A., Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language, page 34.

The Hebrew word *Bachor* in the meaning of "first-born" has nothing in common with such names. The Sanskrit terms *agraja* and *anuja* apply originally to children, and are later used for elder and younger brother or sister, for the first-born child is the elder brother or sister and the later born the younger brother or sister. The French *aîné* (ains-né, ante-natus) expresses the same sense, while *cadet* comes from capitellum, little chief, a diminutive of caput.

It lies in the nature of relationship, that words which originally were intended to apply to children with respect to their age, should afterwards be used by those children to determine their respective position among each other. The terms which are thus given to children by their parents, are often employed by their children in reference to their position as brothers and sisters.

(50) The English language has no word to express the Latin *consanguinitas*. Ovidius (Her. XIV. 121; Met. VIII. 476), Statius (Theb. XI. 407), and Tibullus (III. 4, 87), use *consanguineus* for brother, and in Catullus (LXV. 118) *consanguinea* is equivalent to sister. *Consanguinitas* is used in Roman law books in the same sense as the German *Geschwisterschaft* (Pand. XXXVIII. 8, 4, Inst. VII. 44). The German word *Geschwisterschaft* points really to consanguinity by sisters, but it is used in a wider sense. Another word to describe this relationship affords the term *Germanitas*, which Cicero

the words for male and female, *shinrang* and *kynthai*, must be added, and *Para shinrang* stands for brother, *Para kynthai* for sister. In Mandengo *Ba din* (mother's child) is equivalent to consanguinity, *Ba din ke* (mother-child-man) means brother, *Ba din muso* (mother-child-woman) sister.[51] The Turkish *Karindash* (from *Karn* womb, and *dash* fellow) is a womb-fellow, *Erkek karindash* (or *karindash* alone) male-womb-fellow is brother, *Kiz karindash* female-womb-fellow, sister. In the same manner we find in Sumerian *Sis* (most likely for *Us-sis*) used for brother, and *Rak-sis* for sister. Children who live together under their parents' protection, differ from each other principally in sex and age. The distinction of sex is the more important of the two. It separates the children in two classes. Subdivisions are then effected by age. The distinction between Seniors and Juniors is acknowledged. The eldest or senior is the head of the family. The juniors become in their turn the successors of their seniors, unless the laws of succession are specially altered. The senior has only juniors beneath himself, and the youngest junior only seniors above him. If there are, *e. g.*, in a Tamulian family only two brothers, the first is called *annan* and the other *tambi*; if there are three the youngest calls his eldest brother either as before *annan*, or *mūttannan* or *periannan* (big elder brother); if there are four, the first remains what he is, the second is called *naḍūannan* (middle elder brother), and the third *śirūannan* (small elder brother); if five the second be termed *iraṇḍāvadūannan* (second elder brother), the third

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uses in this sense (*e.g.*, pro Ligario, 33 : moveat te germanitas). But germanitas (from *germen*) refers originally to relationship on the male side. Livius XL. 8 describes it as the kinship existing between the half-brothers Perseus and Demetrius, the sons of Philippus III. of Macedonia.

(51) See "Comparative Vocabularies of some of the principal Negro Dialects of Africa," by Rev. John Leighton Wilson, in the first volume of the Amer. Oriental Society's Journal, page 360; and Dr. H. Steinthal's "Mande Neger Sprachen," page 199.

mūṇrāvadūannan (third elder brother), the fourth *śirūannan*, and so forth.[52]

The senior brother and sister being considered the more important and influential members of the family and of society at large, the terms which express seniority are preserved more carefully than those which are assigned to juniors. Thus it happens that words which define the position of the latter are often dropped in concrete languages when they have come into contact with abstract dialects, and the terms used in the latter replace the primitive concrete expressions, *e.g.*, the Parvatīya of Nepal preserves for elder brother and elder sister the original expressions *Dājyu* and *Dīdī*, but when it speaks of younger brother and younger sister it substitutes words derived from Sanskrit, *Bhā*[illegible] and *Bahini*. The same process may be observed in such Sanskritized languages as Bengāli and Conkani, where the ancient idiom is retained for seniors and omitted when juniors are concerned.[53]

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(52) Compare with this mode of calling that practised among the Kamilaroi in Australia. " Brothers and sisters speak of one another by titles that indicate relative age; that is, their words for brother and sister always involve the distinction of elder or younger. In Kamilaroi "daiādī" is elder brother; "gullami" younger brother; "boādī" is elder sister, "būrī" younger sister. So that in a family of seven brothers the eldest has no daiādī, but he has six gullami; the youngest has no gullami, but six daiādī; the third has two daiādī and four gullami, and so on. Of seven sisters the eldest has no boādī, but six būrī; the youngest has no būrī, but six boādī the fourth has three boādī and three būrī."

In another Australian tribe " Of four brothers the first is 'thulguiana,' the second 'guluizindai,' the third 'mindulai,' the fourth 'thābutū.' " (See Rev. William Ridley, M.A., " Report on Australian Languages and Traditions" in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. II, pages 266 and 283.)

(53) In Bengāli "elder brother" is *Dādā* and " elder sister" *Dīdī* or *Mīmī*, "younger brother" on the contrary is *Chota brata* (*Anuja*) and "younger sister" *Chota Bhagini*. The same forms of kinship are respectively expressed in Conkani by *Anna*, *Akka*, *Sānu Bhāwu* and *Sāni Bahini*. Such terms are remnants of the original concrete character of these languages. The use of postpositions in declension (*e.g.* in Hindustāni), and other idiomatic formations and expressions manifest the same tendency towards concreteness.

This amalgamation of age with the expressions of consanguinity is fatal to the adoption of abstract terms equivalent to brother and sister. The irresistible influence which time exercises on everything prejudices the application of terms which include age in their definition.

Even the genderless terms of consanguinity just mentioned cannot be considered to express fully the abstract sense of consanguinity. For a stricter examination will disclose the fact that they do not describe the affinity of brother and sister in the sense in which it is generally used, as children of the same father and mother, but that they are only applicable to children of the same mother. The Mandengo and Turkish terms prove this distinctly; the same is the case with the Dravidian languages, for the terms used in

Tamil	are respectively	Kūḍappirandavan[54]	and	Kūḍappirandavaḷ,
	or	Uḍanpirandavan,	or	Uḍanpirandavaḷ;
Malayāḷam	„	Uṭappirannavan	and	Uṭappirannavaḷ;
Canarese	„	Kūḍahuṭṭidavanu	„	Kūḍahuṭṭidavaḷu;
Telugu	„	Tōḍapuṭṭinavāḍu	„	Tōḍapuṭṭinadi;

and they denote a male or female who is born from the same mother; expressions synonymous with the Sanskṛit *Sahodara* (Sodara) and *Sagarbha.*

A strangely intricate system of nomenclature arises in many concrete languages from the separation of children according to sex. The relationship existing between brothers and brothers on the one and sisters and sisters on the other side is the same. An elder brother is exactly in the same manner related to his younger brother, as an elder sister is to her younger sister, and *vice versâ* (see plate No. 2).

The identical genderless terms of consanguinity (Geschwisterschaft) apply therefore to elder brothers and sisters as well as to younger brothers and sisters. The expression

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(54) "Kūḍa" and "uḍan" mean "with."

becomes complete, when the sexual determinatives male or female have been added. In some languages, as we have already observed, the sound of the word is modulated in order to convey the necessary distinction. In the Yoruba language "elder consanguinity" is expressed by *egmo,* and "younger consanguinity" by *aburo,* male is *okuri* and female *obiri*; *egmo okuri* is therefore elder brother, *egmo obiri* elder sister; *aburo okiri* younger brother, and *aburo obiri* younger sister. Many examples of this mode of nomenclature can be quoted from the most heterogeneous languages. It exists among the Coreans in the East of Asia as well as among many nations in Africa; it is prevalent among the Polynesian islanders and on the continent of America.

So long as persons of the same sex address each other no difficulty arises, but immediately an individual oversteps this sexual barrier, *e.g.*, a brother speaks to his sister; the case is altered. Special terms become indispensable for heterogeneous persons. The principle followed in this proceeding shows that persons of the same sex, when addressing each other, use identical expressions, but that heterogeneous persons use in this case dissimilar words. A Hawaian man, *e.g.*, calls his elder brother *Kai kua ana,* his elder sister *Kai ku vahina,* his younger brother *Kai kaina,* and his younger sister *Kai kai vahina*; but a Hawaian woman calls the same persons respectively *Kai ku na na, Kai ku a ana, Kai ku nänä,* and *Kai kai na.*[55]

This fact explains the peculiar phraseology occurring in many concrete languages, in which certain terms are confined only to one sex. A Chippewa man, when speaking to a Chippewa woman cannot call her "friend" by the

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(55) In the same manner a Maori man calls the same relatives *Tua kana, Tu a hi ne, Te ina* and *Tuahina te ina,* while a Maori woman names them *Tun ga ne, Tua kana, Tunga ne teina* and *Teina.*

same word as is used by her, when she addresses him.[56] Among the Eudeve tribe the same custom prevails.[57]

This difference in the speech of men and women, however significant, is by natural causes limited within a narrow compass. If men and women really spoke different languages, the very aim for which speech exists, clear communication of ideas, would be frustrated. Where women, as is the case among the Caribes,[58] generally belong to another tribe and are prisoners carried away in successful raids, the difference of language is a fact easily accounted for. A female language which differs from that of males, as one language differs from another, does not exist. To quote in favor of its existence the circumstance that men speak in Sanskṛit dramas Sanskṛit and women Prākṛit, is a wrong application of a false opinion.[59] For neither do all men speak Sanskṛit in Sanskṛit dramas, nor all women Prākṛit, for both men and women speak either Sanskṛit or Prākṛit according to the position they occupy in life. Different languages are spoken in Indian plays as the poets intend to give a true and real portrait, a concrete description of the individuals who appear on the scene. The multitude of Indian languages, and the

(56) Compare "Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States," by *Henry Schoolcraft*, LL.D., Vol. II, page 385, where he discourses on "the exclusive use of certain words by one or the other sex."

(57) See "The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America," by H. H. Bancroft, Vol. III, page 701: "In some cases females employ different words from those used by the male sex."

(58) See: Alexander von Humboldt's Reise in die Æquinoctial Gegenden des neuen Continents, Vol. IV, page 326 and ff.

(59) See: *Ernest Renan* "De l'origine du language," pages 27 and 28. "Or, si la femme employa tout d'abord certaines flexions de préférence à d'autres, et provoqua ces flexions chez ceux qui lui parlaient, c'est qu'elles étaient plus conformes à ses habitudes de prononciation et aux sentiments que sa vue faisait naître. C'est ainsi que dans les drames Hindous les hommes parlent Sanscrit et les femmes Prâkrit." Whether the Prākṛit contained in Indian dramas represents always actually spoken language is very doubtful. I believe it is often an artificially made up jargon. My learned friend Dr. Burnell has even found in the Palace Library at Tanjore "a real grammar of a fictitious Prākṛit dialect called the Bhāṇḍīrabhāshā;" see his interesting monograph "On the Aindra School of Sanskṛit Grammarians," page 107.

absence of any particular dialect which is understood everywhere and by everybody, promotes this singular habit. Even nowadays the different *dramatis personæ* speak in the modern Tamil or Telugu dramas their own vernaculars. Occasionally one can find in South Indian dramas all the Dravidian dialects besides Sanskṛit and Hindustāni. This peculiar feature in Indian dramas which aims at representing the realities of life reminds one of a Chinese picture, where the objects are painted according to nature without regard to perspective.

The so-called language of the Kaffir women, which is known as the *Uku Hlonipa*[60] has a totally different origin and supplies a special want; but it is altogether at variance with the above-mentioned expressions used in certain languages by men or women, when speaking to each other. The *Uku Hlonipa* arises from the repugnance which Kaffir women have to mention the name of their fathers or fathers-in-law, or any word which resembles such names. In its tendency it reminds one of the custom of *Tabu* prevalent among the South-Sea islanders, though the anxious avoidance of the names of the king and of members of the reigning family and of all words resembling them is not confined to one sex, but shared by men and women alike.[61] Such peculiar

(60) See "A Dictionary of the Kaffir Language," by the Rev. William S. Davis, Part I, page 80. "The Kaffir women have a superstitious fear or shame of being near their father-in-law or any male relation. They, and their children, avoid mentioning their own father's name. The women also avoid the cattle kraal, and in passing the kraal gate they make a circuit, so as to avoid going too near. They also refuse to pronounce or use words which have for their principal syllable any part or syllable of the father's or father-in-law's name, or that of their paramount chief. This custom of Uku Hlonipa is thus always coining new words, such words are known as *Ukuteta kwabafazi*, the language of the women."

(61) The meaning of the word *Tabu* is "sacred." It is originally a religious ceremony. The idols, temples, persons, and names of the king, and members of the reigning family, the persons of the priests, canoes belonging to the gods, houses, cloths, and mats of the king and priests, and the heads of men who were the devotees of any particular idol,—were always *tabu*, or sacred. See: Polynesian Researches by W. Ellis, Vol. IV, page 383. The word *tabooed* now in common use, is derived from this custom.

usages are found frequently; thus among the Abipones, who abolish all appellative words which bear any affinity with the names of deceased persons.[62] Many more examples of this kind could be quoted without difficulty.

The terms of kinship hitherto considered excluded sex, but there exist some concrete languages which include it. These latter formations indicate undoubtedly a progress. If sex alone besides relationship were expressed, such words would have assumed an abstract appearance. The circumstance of their still retaining age proclaims their concrete nature.

Rank and position are, as noted before, closely connected with and inseparable from seniority. The eldest brother is, in the absence of another elder member of the family, *eo ipso* its head. The eldest sister enjoys a similar distinguished position, especially where the laws of inheritance favor the female line. The precedence granted to seniors lowers the position of juniors. Even language does not treat both with the same regard. While distinct terms are conceded to the elders, the juniors of both sexes have either only one name in common, or when they enjoy the privilege of having special terms assigned to them, these terms themselves bear often the impression of a later origin. Thus the Tamil word for younger brother *Tambi*, is, according to the well-known native explanation, composed of the possessive pronoun *tam* and the adjective *pin* "after" (the Telugu *pim* in *pimmata* afterwards), and it stands for *pin pirandavan*, he who is born afterwards, an expression corresponding to the Sanskṛit *anuja*. Separate terms for "elder brother" and "elder sister," together with common ones for

(62) See: Dobrizhoffer's Abipones, II, pages 203-4. "The Abipones do not like that any thing should remain to remind them of the dead. Hence appellative words bearing any affinity with the names of the deceased are presently abolished. Hence it is that our vocabularies are so full of blots, occasioned by our having such frequent occasion to obliterate interdicted words, and insert new ones." Among the natives of Australia and of Tasmania a similar custom prevails.

"younger brother" and "younger sister," appear mostly in those languages where those special words for "elder brother" and "elder sister" originated from one and the same term being pronounced differently, as is the case, *e.g.*, in some Tungusian and Mongolian dialects. The Tungusians near Ochozk call elder brother *Akmu*, "elder sister" *Ekmu*, and "younger brother and sister" indiscriminately *Nougu*. The Kalkha Mongolians distinguish the same persons respectvely by the names of *Aga*, *Ege*(*cy*), and *Du*. This peculiar nomenclature exists also in American and Australian languages, though the singular mode by which in American pronouns are combined with nouns, aggravates somewhat the etymological recognition of the original roots.

Four distinct terms for these four forms of kinship, *i.e.*, one special for each, are found in the languages of the Chinese, Turks, Dravidians, Hungarians, &c. Thus in :

Chinese	elder brother is	*Heung*	elder sister	*Tsze*.
Chagatai	,, ,, ,,	*Aga*,	,, ,,	*Bacy*.
Telugu	,, ,, ,,	*Anna*,	,, ,,	*Akka*.
Hungarian	,, ,, ,,	*Ba*(*Bacy*,)	,, ,,	*Nene*.
Chinese	younger brother is	*Te*,	younger sister	*Mei*.
Chagatai	,, ,,	*Iny*,	,, ,,	*Singil*.
Telugu	,, ,,	*Tammudu*,	,, ,,	*Cellelu*.
Hungarian	,, ,,	*Ocs*	,, ,,	*Hug*.

The nearest approach to expressing in a concrete language the relationship of "brother" and "sister" is, as far as I know, made in Chinese. Here the two terms senior and junior, *Heung* and *Te*, are united and *Heung-te* is used in the sense of brother, as *Tsze-mei* in that of sister. Whenever other concrete languages form similar compounds, these compounds have a plural and not a singular meaning, *e.g.*, *Aga ene* among the Kasan Tatars, and *Annan tambigül* among the Tamulians, signify "brothers," at least one pair of elder and younger brothers.

As the genderless term of consanguinity, depending on the descent from a common mother, has been previously commented upon, we need not recur to it.

We therefore distinguish between two different kinds of concrete languages. The first contains special words used in case persons of different sex address each other; the second does not possess such peculiar terms, and males and females use, when conversing with each other, the same words as if they were speaking with persons belonging to their own sex. We call the first division *heterologous*, because heterogeneous persons use different words or speech (*heteroys logoys*), and the second *homologous*, because they use in this case the same words or speech (*homoioys logoys*).

Each division is again subdivided into three classes as follows: (1) the first class marks the difference existing between elder and younger consanguinity by adopting special terms for each, and the difference of sex by adding either the words *male* and *female*, or by modulation of sound; (2) the second possesses special terms for elder brother and elder sister, but one in common for younger brother and younger sister; (3) the third has four distinct terms for each of these varieties of kinship.

These are the principal varieties in which concrete languages express the relationship between brothers and sisters. They represent approximately the different stages of development of thought which can be observed in the growth of the respective languages. The principle of concretion remains every where intact and distinct, but it appears in various phases of refinement corresponding to the mental capabilities of men. How this progress originates, how it grows, and where and why it stops, are questions difficult or impossible to be answered. All we know is, that dialects, which have started from one common source have, in consequence of later digressions, been changed to such an extent that they must be assigned to different classes. Occasionally languages afford us a means of tracing the common origin and

of explaining the subsequent deviations appearing in their ultimate development. The Hungarian *Nene* "elder sister" reveals the common origin and mutual relationship between Hungarian, and Samoyedic as well as the divergence which took place afterwards. The Samoyedic *Tebena* and *Nena*[63] "elder brother" and "elder sister," are derived from *Teb,* "man," *Ne,* "woman,"[64] and *Na* the genderless term for consanguinity. The origin of the Hungarian *Nena* "elder sister," can thus be traced to the primitive genderless expression of consanguinity.

Concrete languages are without terms equivalent to "brother" and "sister." Such expressions which we find in abstract languages describe a condition peculiarly applicable to the close relationship between brother and sister. The brother *Bhrātṛi* (from *bhrā* with the Kṛitaffix *tṛi*) is thus in Sanskṛit the "supporter of the sister," and *Svasṛi* sister[65] (from *su* + *as* and the Kṛitaffix *ṛi*) "the soother, consoler of the brother." I do not contend, that these terms were applied from the first to denote consanguinity; their very pertinent signification suggests a later origin. There may have been, and most likely there were used in primeval times other, perhaps even concrete, terms, but if the latter has ever been the case, the innate tendency towards abstraction removed also such expressions from the language and replaced them by such abstract words as *Bhrātṛi, Svasṛi,* &c. The terms *Adelphos* and *Agastōr* were preferred in Greek, as the word *Phrātēr*[66] was employed in another sense.

Having thus laid stress upon the important position which terms of kinship occupy in a language, it must be

(63) *Nena* denotes at times in Samoyedic dialects "younger sister."

(64) Compare the Hungarian *Nö* and the Chinese *Nü.*

(65) "Sushṭhu asyati sodarāyāsam iti svasā," *see* Liṅgayya Sūri's Liṅgābhaṭṭīyam. I prefer this derivation to that of *sva stri.* The affix *ṛi* in *svasṛi* corresponds to the *tṛi* in *bhrātṛi.* Compare besides others Theodor Benfey's "Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskrit Sprache," page 159.

(66) The Greek possessed the word *phrātēr,* but used instead of it *adelphos* (from *a* and *delphys* uterus), *agastōr,* both which signify uterinus, *kasis* and *kasignētos.*

further proved that their construction is a manifestation of the general character of a dialect, and that the innate inclination reappears again in different forms of speech.

CHAPTER VII.

APPEARANCE OF THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF A LANGUAGE IN OTHER FORMS OF SPEECH.

Next to the words of relationship the pronouns, as the substitutes of nouns, have preserved most distinctly the original genius of a dialect. It has been previously observed that in some languages the terms of kinship are retained in conversation, where others would use in their stead pronouns. This fact is one of the many indications which show that both nouns and pronouns are constituted alike in many respects. The connection existing between both manifests itself in various ways. The words for "father" and "mother" differ in the Zulu language according to the pronoun with which they are associated. *Ubaba* signifies "my father," *Umame* "my mother," *Uyihlo* "thy father," *Unyoko* "thy mother," *Uyise* "his (her) father," and *Unina* "his (her) mother."[67] The West Australian languages combine also in a peculiar manner pronouns with terms of kinship and of relationship. "We two," "you two," and "they two," when applied (*a*) to brothers, sisters or friends, or when (*b*) to parent and child or to uncle and nephew, and when (*c*) to husband and wife or to persons who are greatly attached to each other, become respectively (*a*) *Ngal-la*, *Ngal-a*, and *Ngan nitch*, (*b*) *New-bal*, *New-bal* and *New-bin*, and (*c*) *Bula*, *Bul-ala*, and *Bul-lana*.[68]

The American languages betray in this respect likewise a strong tendency towards concretion. The terms of relationship, the names of the various members and organs of the

(67) The Zulu and other dialects of South Africa by the Rev. Lewis Grout, Journ. of the Amer. Oriental Society, Vol. I, page 404.

(68) See: Vocabulary of the Dialects of South-Western Australia, by Captain G. Grey, London, 1841, page xxii.

body, and other objects, which have a personal bearing are in American languages always connected with pronouns. An American will not attach any meaning to simple words like *father*, or *hat*, but he knows what is meant by such phrases as *my father*, *my hat*, *his father*, *his hat*.[69]

On the other hand, where simple pronouns are generally used in abstract languages, concrete tongues strengthen them by a material substratum. Such sentences as " I am well," " I am not well," &c., require in concrete tongues often the introduction into the sentence of substances like body or skin. In Telugu " I am well " is *nāku oḷlu bāgā unnadi*, to me the body well is; in Mande " I am not well " is *en gboro gbor e ma*, in my body skin (health) not is.

The employment of real abstract pronouns testifies to a high development, and their existence must be considered as marking an essential progress in the mental life of a language. The personal pronouns are most probably at first nouns, which, deputed to such representation, became in time a distinct class of words. The pronouns of the first and second persons have as their starting-point a firm concrete basis; it is either the *I* who speaks, or the *Thou* who is addressed. The idea of self-consciousness in the abstract *Ego* is not here implied.

Words which express the respective position of the two first pronouns are therefore used in preference to others. Reverential terms towards superiors, equal terms towards equals, and condescending terms towards inferiors are the natural outcome of such a system.

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(69) See: Systems of Consanguinity....by Lewis H. Morgan, pages 137-138: " These pronominal inflections are carried much further in the Ganowanian languages than philologists have generally supposed. Terms of relationship almost universally involve the pronoun.....It would be impossible for an American Indian, in most of the nations, to use one of these terms (as father, son, nephew) in the abstract.....The pronoun also is usually found incorporated with the names of the different organs of the body, and with the names of objects which are personal."

The close relation between nouns and pronouns is exemplified by the Zulu language, which contains as many classes of pronouns, as there are varieties of nouns.[70]

The great number of pronouns of the first and second persons need not, after what has been just now said, excite astonishment. The Javanese dialect possesses twenty pronouns of the first and twelve of the second person, while the Malayan contains sixteen of the first, ten of the second, and five of the third person.[71]

The pronoun of the third person is a truer reflection of the character of a dialect, than either that of the first or of the second person. This will manifest itself more clearly afterwards. The pronoun of the third person is an artificial *alter ego*. It originates from an inmost tendency towards abstractness. Where such an inclination is wanting, it does not exist, as in the Javanese;[72] or it is built upon a concrete substratum, as in the languages of the Abipones, where the position occupied by the person or the object alluded to, is specially expressed.[73]

When examining the terms of consanguinity stress was laid on their absence in concrete languages, and the importance of this fact was particularly noted. It was pointed out as an unmistakable evidence for the concrete character of a dialect. The pronoun of the first person in its dual and plural numbers supplies a corresponding exhibition of the natural tendency

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(70) Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. I, pages 390 and 407 : " Pronouns of the third person in the Zulu are a kind of reflection or image of the initials of the nouns for which they stand, and are used to show the condition of those nouns. There are therefore as many classes of them, as of nouns, that is twelve."

(71) See : A Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language, by John Crawfurd, London, 1852, Vol. I, pages xxi, 24 and 25.

(72) See : Crawfurd, page xxi.

(73) See : An Account of the Abipones, from the Latin of Martin Dobrizhoffer, London, 1822, Vol. II, page 166 : " But the pronoun of the third person, he, is varied, according to the situation of the person of whom you speak. For if the object of discourse be present, he is called *Eneha*, if he be sitting *Hiniha*, if lying *Hiriha*, if standing *Haraha*, if walking and seen *Ehaha*, if not seen *Ekaha*, &c."

of a language. As in concrete languages the concrete or special terms "elder brother" and "younger brother" are used, and an abstract or general term "brother" does not exist, so also is the "*We*," expressed either in a special or in a general sense. The abstract languages admit in the dual and plural only one general term for "we," but the concrete languages vary from them and acknowledge the difference in the pronoun *we* by special expressions. Strictly speaking there are two separate kinds of "we." It either includes the speaker and the party addressed, or excludes the party addressed and includes that spoken of. "We two" is either "Thou and I" or "He and I," the plural "we" signifies in the same manner "You and I" and "They and I." Every language which contains such inclusive and exclusive terms of "we," indicates by their presence its concrete tendency. The Hottentot idioms are rich in such distinctions; this fact is a sure sign of the Hottentot dialects belonging to the concrete and not to the abstract class, which includes Egyptian and Hebrew. This primitive distinction has disappeared from many concrete languages, but its existence in a large number entitles us to the supposition, that it was originally an expression common to all concrete idioms, but that it eventually fell into disuse with some of them. The presence of abstract terms as "brother" and "sister," *āch* and *āchōth* in Hebrew, *bhrātṛi* and *svasṛi* in Sanskrit, is countenanced by the existence of an abstract "we," *nachnu* and *vayam*.

Among others it survives to this day in Asia in the Mandchu,[73] Bahing,[74] Gujarāti,[75] and the Dravidian[76] languages.

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(73) *We* inclusive is *be*, *we* exclusive *musi*.

(74) The Dual incl. is *gosi*, the Dual excl. *gosuku*; the Plur. incl. *goi*, and the Plur. excl. *goku*; see: Journal Bengal Asiat. Soc., Vol. XXVI, page 498, in B. H. Hodgson's Comparative Vocabulary.

(75) Plur. incl. *āpane*, excl. *ame*.

(76) In Tamil: Plur. incl. *nām*, excl. "*nāṅgal*;" in Malayāḷam: Plur. incl. *nām*, excl. *nammal* (*nāṅgal*); in Telugu: Plur. incl. *manamu*, excl. *mēmu*; in

In Africa the Hottentot[78] retains it, and it is found in the neighbouring Madagassy.[79] The Malayan[80] is not without it; and the Polynesian tongues, as Fijian,[81] Tahitian[82] and Hawaian[83] use these forms. Among the American[84] languages these expressions are of frequent occurrence.

The concrete character of a language can be recognized also

Canarese: Plur. incl. *nāvu*, excl. *āvu*. Bishop Caldwell says in his Comparative Dravidian Grammar, page 308 (second edition) that "in all the Dravidian dialects, with the exception of Canarese, there are two plurals of the pronoun of the first person." I believe that two distinct Plurals for *we* existed formerly in Canarese; but *āvu* is now obsolete, it corresponds to the Telugu *mēmu*; compare *āv'atibhayamgoṇḍu*, we having been very much afraid. Cennabasavapurāṇa, IV. Khāṇḍa, I. Sandhi, 30 Ślōka. About *āvu* see the excellent edition of Keśirāja's Śabdamaṇidarpana published by the Rev. F. Kittel at Mangalore in 1872, page 110.

(78) *We*, Dual masc. incl. *sakhom*, excl. *sikhom*; fem. incl. *saam*, excl. *siim*; com. incl. *saam*, excl. *siim*. *We* Plur. masc. incl. *sake*, excl. *sike*; fem. incl. *sase*, excl. *sise*; com. incl. *sada*, excl. *sida*. See Reynard the Fox in South Africa, by W. H. S. Bleek, London, 1864, pages xvi and xvii, and Elémens de la Grammaire Hottentote (Dialecte Nama), par H. de Charencey, page 10, where the Dual com. incl. is *sinm* and excl. *sanm*.

(79) Plur. incl. *isikia*, excl. *izahay*; compare: Three Visits to Madagascar by the Rev. William Ellis, London, 1858, page 465.

(80) *Kāmi* is the exclusive we; see W. Marsden's Dictionary of the Malayan Language, page 251. In Tagala the *we* incl. is *tayo*, *we* excl. *kāmi*.

(81) We two, incl. *koi kedaru*; excl. *koi keirau*; we three, incl. *koi kedatou*, excl. *koi keitou*; we, plur. incl. *koi keda*, excl. *koi kei mami*; see "A Fijian and English and an English and Fijian Dictionary, and a Grammar of the Language," by the late David Hazlewood, second edition, page 23.

(82) We two incl. *O Taua*; excl. *O Maua*; we plur. incl. *O Tatou*, excl. *O Matou*; see "A Grammar of the Tahitian Dialect of the Polynesian Language," Tahiti, 1823, page 14.

(83) We two incl. *O Kaua*, excl. *O Maua*; plur. incl. *O Kakou*, excl. *O Makou*, see "Polynesian Researches, by William Ellis, Vol. IV, pages 467 and 468."

(84) *E.g.*, in the different dialects of the Algonquin language as in the

Ojibwa of St. Mary's	as	Wen o wind	and	Nen o wind.
,, ,, Grand Traverse Bay	,,	Ke nuh wind	,,	Ne nuh wind.
,, ,, Saganaw	,,	Kee nue wee	,,	Nee nue wee.
,, ,, Michilimackinac	,,	Neen a wind	,,	Keen a wind.
In Miami	*we* incl. is	Ke lo naw,	and *we* excl.	Ne lo naw.
,, Menomonee	,, ,, ,,	Kay nanh,	,, ,, ,,	Osh nee shay ah.
,, Shawnee	,, ,, ,,	Neèl ah wai,	,, ,, ,,	Neèl ah wai.
,, Delaware	,, ,, ,,	Neèl one àh,	,, ,, ,,	Neèl one nàh.

See: Information respecting the history, condition and prospects of the Indian

in many expressions of daily life. The natural properties displayed by individual persons or objects, the characteristic discrepancies apparent in similar actions or conditions are keenly grasped and appreciated by the unsophisticated child of nature; but the common bond which links together the kindred members to the parent body is, if not overlooked, at all events not appreciated. The individual overshadows the species. Each single object impresses the mind of the beholder at first with its individuality. If this impression becomes overpowerful, the mind can no more distinguish between the kindred and the kind, and this difference is in consequence not expressed in speech. There exist tribes who have bestowed a name on all the animals they know, but who have never thought it necessary to use a word for "animal."[85] Some go so far as to describe by special terms the tails of all animals, yet do not know how to express "tail"[86] pure and simple; others point out each separate plant or tree by an appropriate name, and are unable to speak in general of a plant or a tree;[87] or they will distinctly define each bird, fish,[87]

Tribes of the U. S., by H. R. Schoolcraft, Part II, pages 405, 467, and 479. Compare besides the Chinook dialect, where "*we two*" incl. is *Tkhaika* and excl. *Ndaika*; the "we plur." incl. is *Olkhaika* and excl. *Nçtaika*, and the Tegua (one of the Pueblo languages) we incl. *Tahquireh* and excl. *Nihyeuboh*. See "The Native Races of the Pacific States," by H. H. Bancroft, Vol. III, pages 628 and 682. Compare also Morgan, page 137 N. 1 on the Cherokee pronoun.

(85) *E.g.*, the Coroados in Brazil; see: The Origin of Civilisation, by Sir John Lubbock, second edition, page 332.

(86) As the Society Islanders.

(87) A term for tree is wanting in many American languages. The Philippine islanders, the Tasmanians, the Australian aborigines and others do not possess it. "The blacks (of Australia) have no word to express 'tree.' In just the same way they have no word for 'fish' or 'bird.' The aborigines (of Tasmania) possessed no words representing abstract ideas; for each variety of gum-tree and wattle-tree, &c., &c., they had a name, but they had no equivalent for the expression 'a tree;' neither could they express abstract qualities, such as hard, soft, warm, cold, long, short, round, &c." See Crawfurd, Vol. I, page cxxvi; Mr. R. Brough Smyth: The Aborigines of Victoria, Vol. II, pages 27 and 413.

leaf[88] or stone,[89] or any other existing thing, but as their abstracting powers are deficient, do not understand how to name a bird or a fish, a leaf or a stone. Even such common natural phenomena as wind[90] and rain[91] are occasionally subject to the same concrete view, and are missing in some languages. The same abstractive deficiency occurs in the specifying of various actions in so far as they are represented by verbs. Many languages, *e.g.*, the American Algonquin, and the Polynesian Hawaian do not possess a term for the auxiliary "to be,"[92] while the Karen is said to acknowledge four different varieties of it.[93]

The Dravidian languages distinguish between two negatives, one denies, as it is generally expressed in grammar, the existence, the other a quality (an attribute) of the subject in question. These terms are in Tamil *illa* and *alla*, in Telugu *lēdu* and *kādu*[94] in Canarese *illa* and *alla*, and in Malayāḷam *illa* and *alla*; *e.g.*, "the Brahman did not come" is in Telugu *brāhmaṇuḍu rā lēdu*, "he is not a Brahman" is *vāḍu brāhmaṇuḍu kāḍu*.

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(88) "In both the Tagala and Bisaya there is no generic term for leaf, although in the Tagala are enumerated twenty-one specific names for as many various sorts of leaves;" Crawfurd, l.c., page cxxvi.

(89) In the two Philippine languages the only generic term for "stone" is the Malay and Javanese *batu*, but the Tagala has fifteen express words for different kinds of stone; Crawfurd, l.c., page cxxvi.

(90) "The Malayan word is the only general term in the two Philippine languages for both 'air' and 'wind,' yet for 'wind' the Tagala has eleven specific names descriptive of its force or direction," Crawfurd, l.c., page cxxvi.

(91) Crawfurd, l.c., page cxxvi. "In the Tagala exists no word for 'rain,' but there are five terms for the different varieties, viz., *Lavanga* little rain, *lavalava* minute or misty rain, *anuta* moderate but lasting rain, *lanrak* rain in great drops, *tikatik* gentle continuous rain.

(92) The greatest imperfections we have discovered occur in the degrees of the adjectives, and the deficiency of the auxiliary verb *to be*, which is implied, but not expressed. See "Remarks on the Hawaian language, in the appendix to the IVth Vol. of the Polynesian Researches" by W. Ellis, page 464.

(93) Compare: Burmah, by Rev. F. Mason, D.D., page 138.

(94) Kādu is the third person singular of the Negative Tense (vyatirēkārthakamu) of *aguṭa* (*avuṭa*) to become, Sing. 1. *kānu*, 2. *kāvu*, 3. *kāḍu*, *kādu*; Plur. 1. *kāmu*, 2. *kāru*, 3. *kāru*, *kāvu*. *Lēdu* is the third person singular of the Negative Tense of *unduṭa*, Sing. 1. *lēnu*, 2. *lēvu*, 3. *lēḍu*, *lēdu*. Plur. 1. *lēmu*, 2. *lēru*, 3. *lēru*, *lēvu*.

The Bisaya dialect does not exhibit any verbs[95] which correspond to the abstract sense of the English "to go," "to open," "to gather," and "to buy," but it produces in their stead 33, 27, 42, and 13 special terms, all expressing a particular going, opening, gathering or buying. The Tagala idiom expresses "to go" in 75 different ways, and has 17 representatives of the verb "to carry."[96] The Hawaiian dispenses with a general term for "to send," but indemnifies itself by a number of verbs, expressing each a peculiar mode of sending.[97] In the Tagala language food is boiled in eleven, while it is eaten in the Bisaya dialect in forty different ways.[98] Like the Burmese, so the American Cherokee[99] delights in manifold modes of washing, while the Mohican and the Burmese descant on the varieties of cutting.[100] Languages so different as Hawaiian[97] and the Dravidian dialects[101] are at a loss how to express the verb "to break." Dr. Schoolcraft lays special emphasis on the fact that:

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(95) See Crawfurd, l. c., page cxx and ccxxxiv. "In the Bisaya language I can find no words for the verbs '*to buy*' or '*to sell*' generally, yet for the first of these there are thirteen verbs, as to buy for sale, to buy wholesale, to buy in retail, to buy corn, to buy gold by barter, to buy in partnership, to buy slaves, to buy earthenware, to buy bells, and such like."

(96) See Crawfurd, l. c., page cxx.

(97) See Ellis, page 464: "Verbs not only express the action, but the manner of it distinctly; hence to send a message would be *orero*, to send a messenger *kono*, to send a parcel *houna*, to break a stick *haki*, to break a string *moku*, to break a cup *naha*, to break a law *hooma loka*, &c."

(98) See Crawfurd, l. c., page cxx. The Bisaya has among its 40 words for the verb "to eat" the following:—To eat generally *käun* or *hungit*, to eat with an appetite *bakayau* and *makumaku*, to eat a little *havat*, to eat greedily *düum*, to eat all *samang*, to eat by morsels *küibküib*, to eat in the morning *aga*, to eat at noon *udtu*, to eat in order to drink *sumsum*, to eat by sipping *pangus*, to eat with another *salu*, to eat raw things *hilap* and *kilau*, to eat fruit *lagulum*, to eat fish or flesh *lonlon*, to eat the flesh of the hog *pahit* and *urur*, to eat the flesh of the dog *lüang*, to eat the flesh of snakes *lamüi*, to eat locusts *unas*, to eat the flesh of fowls *bubur*, to eat carrion *katut* and *guiluk*.

(99) See Schoolcraft, Vol. II, page 34.

(100) Compare the Burmese to cut a gash *sha-the*, to cut in slices *hnyeng-the*, to cut down (as timber) *lai-the*, to cut wood *khok-the*, to cut fuel *hten-pouk-the*, to cut off *hpyat-the*, to cut with a knife *hlee-the*, to cut with scissors *hny-at-the*, &c., &c.

(101) A general term for "to break" does not exist in Telugu, *e.g.*, to break a glass is *pagalcuṭa*, to break a bone or wood *viruecuṭa*, to break a rope *tencuṭa*, to break a soft substance *truneuṭa*, &c.

"The American Indians invariably express their ideas of objects and actions precisely as they are presented to their eyes and ears, that is, in their compound associations. A person and an act are ever associated, in their forms of syntax, with the object of the action. To love and to hate are, therefore, never heard in their analytical forms. This combination of the action of the speaker with the object is universal."[102]

"The concrete tendency of the American dialects shows itself unmistakably in these strange conceptions and idiomatic expressions, but it appears not less clearly in other languages.[103]

Great difficulties arise in concrete tongues when abstract ideas, especially those referring to time, have to be dealt with. In some dialects the amount of circumlocution which is required to express simple terms like "then" (at that time), "during" (while), or "afterwards" is really astonishing. A native of Sudan says instead of "Zau was then ill," *they were left there and Zau (was) ill*;[a] instead of "fever was then round Woyewere," *and they remained there and round Woyewere was fever*;[b] instead of "Darkness began while they went," *they were left going, darkness fell*;[c] or for "he went during the feast," *they made this feast it not finished and he went*;[d] for "the town was set on fire after they dispersed," *the same was completed, after it was, and the town was set on fire.*[e] In a Vei manuscript first published by Mr. Koelle the sentence "on the last night of the haze moon[f] (December)" is paraphrased as follows: *(Taru Gura she him bore) the night in which, then we slept, morning it dawned, we spent the day quite, evening arrived then we the haze moon great saw!).*[104]

(102) See Schoolcraft, Vol. II, page 341.

(103) See page 58.

(104) Compare the "Outlines of a Grammar of the Vei Language," by S. W. Koelle, page 242 and elsewhere; and "Die Mande Neger Sprachen.. von Dr. H. Steinthal, Berlin, 1867, pages 212—215; (*a*) anu to-a nu-wa, am' Zau kira; (*b*) ame a toaro, am' Woyewere mani gbandia; (*c*) anu to-a taye-na-wa, am' difi bera; (*d*) anda da-mo-wa ma, a ma ban, amo a ta; (*e*) anu nyenya-ni a biri-e bandā-ni a gbarō mu amu sandza binda; and (*f*) Taru Gura, ara wuru difi-muro mu ke kia sama gbea mu tere gben, dserema kea amu moa Duru karo kerema dze."

The expression of the comparative degree manifests in many concrete languages a tendency towards concreteness. The Telugu *kaṇṭe* and the Tamil *kāṭṭilum* or *pārkkilum*, which are equivalent to our *than* mean originally *if* or *though seen*, being derived respectively from the Telugu *kanu* and the Tamil *kān* or *pār*. The sentence "a dog is bigger than a cat," is expressed as follows: "a cat if seen a dog is big" (*pilli kaṇṭe kukka peddadi* or *pūnaiyai kāṭṭilum* (*pārkkilum*) *nāi peridü*).

"Brother" is, as was seen before, expressed in Chinese by the compound Heung-Te (elder-younger brother). An abstract term for brother does not exist in Chinese. An equivalent of it can only be formed by uniting the two words which contain the idea of consanguinity, blended though it be with the admixture of age. This combination of two concrete expressions is the representative of an abstract term. Other abstract words are formed in a similar manner, *e.g.*, *to-sao*, "much-little," is equivalent to quantity; *chung-king*, "heavy-light" to weight. We can also compare with this process the mode which frames the names of a species by joining together the words denoting the individual male and female animal, as *juan-jang*, the mandarin duck, contains in its first part the word for drake and in the second that for duck.[105]

Analogous terms to *Heung-te*, and conveying the same meaning, do not, so far as the author's knowledge goes, occur in other concrete languages—for compounds as the Telugu *annadammulu* can only be used in a plural sense,—but the principle which gives rise to such expressions is acknowledged far and wide. It appears in a different guise in the juxtaposition of contrasts, or of affirmatives and negatives, in order to intimate the meaning of indecision, uncertainty,[106] approxi-

(105) Compare page 55, and the "Chinesische Sprachlehre von W. Schott," Berlin, 1857, page 14.

(106) Uncertainty is also expressed in the Shan language by combining affirmation and negation, *e.g.*, "perhaps they may go," is rendered thus: *an kwah, kwah; an angkwah, angkwah*, those who go, go; those who go not, go not. See: Rev. T. N. Cushing's Shan Grammar, page 54.

mation, &c. *E.g.*, compare the Telugu phrases *cacci bratikināmu* (the Tamil *śettü pijaittōm*), being dead we lived, *i.e.*, we were half dead; or *Vastunnāḍō rāḍō* (in Tamil *varuvānō vara māṭṭānō*), he may come, may not come, *i.e.*, he may perhaps come; *uḍiki uḍakani* (in Tamil *vendü vehāḍa*), being boiled, being not boiled, *i.e.*, half boiled; *pani tīri tīraka unnadi* (in Tamil *vēlai tīrṇḍaḍum tirāḍaḍum āy irükkiradü*), the work being finished, being not finished is, *i.e.*, the work is hardly finished; *cūci cūḍaka munupē*, (in Tamil *pārttü pārkkādadarkkü munnamē*), having seen, having not seen before, *i.e.*, having scarcely seen; *pillaku panḍlu vacci rākunḍā unnavi* (in Tamil *kujandaikkü pallü mulaittü mulaiāmal* (or *vandu varāmal*) *irükkiradü*), to the child teeth having come without coming are, *i.e.*, the child's teeth are incomplete; or *vāniki aravamu telisi teliyaka unnadi* (in Tamil *avanükkü terindü teriāmal irükkiradü*), to him Tamil being known being not known like is, *i.e.*, he knows a little Tamil. The Turkish *ülar ulmas* (he dies does not die), he nearly dies, expresses the same tendency.

Many more examples from various languages could be produced, if the proof contained in these will admit of any doubt respecting the innate concrete tendency of the individual reappearing in his speech.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON GENDER.

GENDER-IGNORING AND GENDER-DENOTING LANGUAGES.

The ideas, which language expresses are defined by gender, number, space, time, and other qualifying attributes. These attributes are found everywhere, and everywhere the same. They exist previously to that period when man could testify to their presence by alluding to them in speech. For the individual man belongs himself to a sex, he is one of his species, and lives at a certain place during a limited time.

These categories never change; but how does language deal with them? This is the question now before us, but the answer to it is by no means simple. The position which a language adopts towards these attributes—whether it ignores them or not, and if they are acknowledged, in what manner it is done—these are points of paramount importance.

The two principal forms of speech, the noun and the verb, are also those which most clearly exhibit the rules of grammar. While noun and verb, as arising from one common source, may be even identical in form,[107] or still preserve a certain affinity to each other, so that a noun can produce a verb and a verb a noun,[108] and have also in common

(107) See above page 23: "It is probable that all intransitive *Vei* verbs may be used as adjectives and substantives;" Koelle, Outlines of a Vei Grammar, page 40. In the Californian dialect *Gallinomero*, the word *chadúna* may signify either seeing, or to see, or sight or watchful. In the Mexican *Eudeve* all verbs are used as nouns, and as such are declined as well as conjugated; *hiósguan*, "I write" also means writer; *nemutzan*, I bewitch, is also wizard. In *Otomi* one and the same word can be a substantive, adjective, verb and adverb. See H. H. Bancroft's work; The Native Races of the Pacific States, Vol. III, pp. 645, 700 and 739. In the *Fiji* language simple forms of the verbs are used as nouns, *e.g.*, *butako* to thieve and theft, *soko* to sail and sailing, *masu* to pray and prayer; see David Hazlewood's Fijian Grammar, page 7. Nouns and verbs coincide in many respects in the *Samoyedic* languages, see Castrén's Grammatik der Samojedischen Sprache, pages 105 and 365. From *Sanskṛit* we can quote many examples, the few following suffice: *kshudh* to be hungry, and *kshudh*, *f.* hunger; *guh* to conceal, and as a f. noun, hiding place (Vedic); *cit* to perceive, and f. n. thought; *ji* to conquer, and victorious, or victor; *jyā* to oppress, and f. n. overpowering force; *tan* to extend, and f. n. continuation; *tur* to run, and m. n. warrior; *diś* to show. and f. n. direction, quarter; *driś* to see, f. n. sight, eye; *dyut* to shine, and f. n. splendour; *druh* to hate, and f. n. injury; *dhī* to think, and f. n. thought; *nu* to praise, and f. n. praise; *nṛit* to dance, and f. n. dancing; *piś* to adorn, and f. n. ornament; *bhī* to fear, and f. n. fear; *bhuj* to enjoy, and f. n. enjoyment; *bhū* to be, and f. n. substance, earth; *mū* to bind, and f.n. tying; *ruj* to break, and f. n. fracture; *rud* to cry, and f. n. cry; *viś* to enter, m. n. a settler, f. n. entrance, house; &c. &c.

(108) In the Kaffir language the infinitive of the verb is used as a verbal noun, *e.g.*, *ukutanda* to love and love; *ukutamba* to go and journey. See: Rev. Davis' Grammar of the Kaffir Language, page 6. In the *Fiji* dialect verbs are occasionally derived from nouns, as *bukana* to add fuel, from *buka* fuel; *rubuna* to put into a box, from *rubu* a box, &c. See: Fijian Grammar, page 29. Compare in *English* the book, to book; the pocket, to pocket; the ticket, to ticket, &c., &c.

the power of expressing, where possible, gender and number,[109] they differ in so far, that the noun moves in and is subject to space, whereas the verb lives and acts in time. This constitutional diversity, founded on the distinction between space and time, is expressed respectively by declension and conjugation. Owing to the near relationship, or rather to the approximate identity between space and time, the declension of a noun and the conjugation of a verb are guided in every language by one and the same linguistic principle. This principle, revealed by its manner of expressing or ignoring gender, number, space and time, assigns to a language the position it occupies among the groups of the families of speech.

Our attention must then be directed to observe how a language deals with gender, how it expresses number, denotes space and time, and all the other modalities connected with the ever changing variations of mind and matter.

The most striking feature which is impressed on our mind, when we look about and regard the various objects around us, is no doubt the fact, of which we soon become aware, that they are either endowed with life or not. This difference is so evident that it is even observed by children. Though we may be quite ignorant of the real nature of what constitutes life, nevertheless the distinction is so plain, that as a rule no mistakes can be made in distinguishing animate creatures from inanimate objects. We all know that imperfect knowledge may falsely ascribe life to inanimate matter, or ignore life in animate creation; but these mistakes only prove ignorance, while they manifest the inclination to constitute vitality as the principal criterion. It affects our senses with all the strength of a concrete substance; for as such appears life. If the existence of life is once admitted as the characteristic mark of distinction, a further subdivision is attempted by separating animate beings, who are credited with possessing the faculty of

(109) *E.g.*, in the Semitic languages.

reasoning, from those who are supposed to be deprived of it. Man, as the representative of mankind, even to the detriment of woman, generally takes upon himself the arrangement of this vexed question. Where knowledge forsakes him, conceit helps him. The complete classification into animates and inanimates, and the division of the former into rationals and irrationals is occasionally lost sight of, and its place is taken by distributions which acknowledge either only rationals, irrationals and inanimates, or which, ignoring any difference between the latter two, distinguish simply between rational and irrational beings.

A closer observation devoted to the creatures around us, soon discovers the diversity of sex which pervades the whole creation. The existence of sex is no less a reality than is the presence of life; but if the former is accepted as the starting-point of a methodical system, wherein to arrange living beings, inanimate objects, and abstract ideas, it is soon obliged to have recourse to imagination. The presence or absence of life is moreover a *primâ facie* fact, while the existence of gender and its varieties are discerned in their connections with and dependence upon life. This circumstance intimates that a classification issuing from life as a reality, has a tendency, towards concreteness; while a division founded on a quality, in which life is the predominant test, inclines towards abstractness.

The admission of gender, the grammatical representative of sex, as a standard of classification, is evidence of an imaginative turn of thought. It requires the personification of inanimate beings. Imagination endows them with artificial life, assigning to them a gender, as if they were living creatures. This is a necessary result, where languages as, *e.g.*, the Semitic group, recognize only two genders; but it is not the less a case in dialects which possess three distinct genders, as the Aryan tongues do, and where inanimate objects are regarded as male or female beings, according to the whim of the speaker.

All classifications, however well they are conceived and however logically they are applied, encounter obstacles, when they are consistently practised. This is a natural defect of all systems. In the first division, which constitutes life and reasoning power as the salient points, these two (life and reasoning power) are not always easily discovered, and the unbiassed recognition of gender in creatures, objects, and thought is in the second division also occasionally impeded by flights of imagination, or by want of knowledge. But the most important distinction between the two systems must be considered to be the fact, that the first mentioned is adopted by concrete, the second by abstract languages. This choice is retrospectively a sufficient indication of the prevalent tendency in each classification.

The concrete languages do not only submit to the first classification, but they are also in consequence free from the influence of gender. A language marks the varieties of gender when the words, more especially the nouns, contain in themselves the distinction of sex, without expressing it by peculiar terminations, additions or modifications of sound; *e.g.*, in English "man" and "bull" are masculine, and "woman" and "cow" are feminine; but the external form does not betray their respective gender. Of course every language can express the difference of sex, as sex is a natural fact, and a language is nothing if not descriptive; but if a dialect must have recourse to the expedient of adding such terms as "male" and "female," or others which convey the same meaning, in order to specify the sex of the particular subject in question, it is clear that such a language has not, what has been defined as gender. Though *man* is a male and *woman* a female by sex, grammatically they may be neither masculine nor feminine. We need not go far to convince ourselves of this fact, for according to Telugu grammar neither *magaḍu* "man" and *eddu* "ox" are masculine, nor *ālu* "wife" and *āvu* "cow" feminine.

The addition of terms like "male" or "female" does not affect the gender of any particular word. It only qualifies the noun, as do all adjectives. The gender of the word "child" remains the same, whether it is connected with male or female, small or big, white or black, &c. The sentence *the king and the queen eat from the same dish* is expressed in Malayan *Sangnata laki estri santāp saidangan*, *i.e.*, the kings, male and female, ate from the same dish.[110]

The great majorityof languages being concrete, the abstract minority only expresses gender. The well known African linguist, the lamented Dr. W. H. I. Bleek, is, so far as my knowledge goes, the first among modern philologists who became aware of the important position which gender occupies in language, and who pointed it out in his excellent essays.[111] In this respect Dr. Bleek quite deserves the encomium conferred on him by one of the greatest authorities of the day, Professor Max Müller. In the preface to the sixth edition of the Lectures on the Science of Language we read: "Much has been written during the last ten years on the origin of language, but the only writer who seems to me to have approached the problem in an independent and at the same time a truly scientific spirit, is Dr. Bleek, in his essay *Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache.*" Dr. Bleek was struck with the very interesting but puzzling system of concords occurring in South African languages,[112]

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(110) See: Crawfurd l.c., page 12.

(111) Compare "Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache von Wilhelm Heinrich Immanuel Bleek," Kapstadt, 1867; and his essays in the first volume of the Journal of the Anthropological Institute "On the position of the Australian languages" and on "the Concord, the origin of Pronouns, and the formation of Classes or Genders of Nouns." Unfortunately I could not obtain a copy of Dr. Bleek's Comparative Grammar.—The recent work of Dr. Latham "Outlines on General Philology" has not yet reached me.

(112) "The euphonic or alliteral concord causes the initial element of the noun, a letter, a syllable, or syllables, to reappear as the initial element of the adjective agreeing with the noun; requires the pronoun to assume a form corresponding to the initial of the noun for which it stands; and detaches the important part of the initial of the governing noun, to assist in forming a bond of connection with and control over the noun or pronoun, governed in the genitive; *e.g.*, *izimvu zami zi ya li zua ilizui lami*, literally, (the) sheep of

and tried to explain ingeniously its intricacies. The peculiar rules of concord and the genderless character of most of these dialects induced him (who had probably not paid previously much attention to the subject of gender, and who had perhaps never regarded it as an important subject before he became aware of it in Africa) to connect both systems with each other, and to establish a sort of relationship between both. In this effort I believe he failed. Dr. Bleek would have escaped this error of judgment, if he had been more intimate with the general character of gender, as it appears, or rather is hidden, in other genderless languages. The study of Dravidian dialects and some knowledge of other concrete languages attracted my attention in this direction long before I became acquainted with the scientific researches of Dr. Bleek.

This eminent scholar starts with the assumption :

" As a proven fact, that the system of concord by which one part of a noun was taken to represent the whole, is identical in origin with that of the genders of nouns as found in our languages."[113]

The sixteen different classes of nouns, which we meet in the Otyiherero and other languages of the west coast of South Africa, the thirteen varieties which exist in the Kaffir and Zulu dialects,[114] are a most peculiar phenomenon indeed, but they can never be considered as genders, in the strict meaning of the word gender, whose varieties are confined to three, to male, female, and neuter. They are on the contrary only classes or species of nouns.

" The distinction of genders,[115] which is of so much importance in the grammars of most languages, has but little influence in the Kaffir language : only *four prefixes*, out of *sixteen* by which

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me they do it hear (the) voice of me, *i.e.*, my sheep hear my voice. Here the euphonic letter *z* in *zami*, and the pronoun *zi*, point directly to the initial *izim* of the noun *izimvu* ; while the pronoun *li*, and the euphonic letter *l* in *lami*, point to the initial *ili* of the noun *ilizui*." Journ. Americ. Or. Soc., I. 401.

(113) Compare Bleek " On the Concord," l.c., page lxxii.

(114) See Bleek " On the position of the Australian languages," l.c., page 99.

(115) Rev. William J. Davis counts in his " Grammar of the Kaffir Language," page 8, 16 prefixes.

the forms of the nouns are distinguished, vary in their plurals, and only *two* in their government, according as they apply to *persons* or *things*; with the exception of these *two* cases, the *prefix* of the noun, without reference to number er gender, determines the changes which must take place in its adjective, pronoun, or verb. Thus the words *indoda*, man, *intombi*, girl, and *intaba*, mountain, although of different genders, have precisely the same pronominal and tense form, and the same grammatical government, simply because they have the same *nominal prefix*, and consequently belong to the same *species of nouns*."[116]

And Dr. Bleek, with the sincerity which characterizes a true scholar, himself admits as much. He says:

"When we inquire into the probable etymologies of the Hottentot derivative suffixes of nouns, not one of them seems to have originally any meaning implying sex; and the meanings which the suffixes impart to nouns in which a difference of sex is not discernible, is frequently of so decided a character as to assign to these suffixes a distinct signification which could only with great violence be deduced from any analogy with the distinctions of sex.[117]

And further on he even suggests what we should call a concrete process, for according to him:

"It is highly probable that the whole relation of the Hottentot classes of nouns to the distinction of sex, arose from the circumstance that the nouns respestively indicating "man" and "woman" had been formed with different derivative particles

(116) Compare "The Zulu and other Dialects of Southern Africa" by Rev. Lewis Grout. "The distinction of objects with regard to gender is scarcely recognized in the grammar of this dialect. The changes which must be made in the adjectives, pronouns or verbs, are all determined by the initial element of the noun. A distinction is made however between persons and things in the first and sixth classes, all nouns in *um* which denote persons belonging to the first class, and those which denote things belonging to the sixth..... So strong is the influence of this inclination to concords produced by the repetition of initials, that it controls the distinction of number and quite subordinates that of gender, and tends to mould the pronoun after the likeness of the initial element of the noun to which it refers;" see: Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. I, pages 403 and 424.

(117) Compare Bleek "On the Concord," l.c., page lxxvi.

(suffixes) possessing representative power. If the word for "man" were formed with one suffix (-P or-Bi), and the word indicating "woman" with another (-S), then other nouns of each sex would be formed, with the same derivative suffixes, in analogy with these."

All these excerpts prove that whatever may be the origin and the aim of these concords in the African languages, they are by their very nature distinct from gender, which may be incidentally, but not intentionally expressed by them.

The explanation of what constitutes gender as we find it in the excellent "Principles of Comparative Philology"[118] is, in other respects, open to criticism. Professor Sayce says there as follows:

"Gender, consequently, is by no means engrained in the nature of things. It is a secondary accident of speech, ornamental, perhaps, from an æsthetic point of view, but practically highly detrimental; and it is curious that modern English has, in this, as in so much else, gone back to the simple beginnings of the sexual relations, and distinguishes gender only by means of the corresponding pronouns."

It is evident, that Professor Sayce does not sufficiently appreciate the nature and the importance of gender. It is a grammatical distinction of a very high class, and is the product of reflection. It may take time to mature the results of such reflection, but a certain power of abstraction is required in order to conceive the idea of gender. This power of abstraction is wanting in concrete languages, it is existing in abstract languages. Gender is therefore engrained in the nature of all abstract languages; it need not show itself present in form, but it is present in spirit. The existence of gender in languages is in fact a proof of their abstract character.

It is very instructive to follow the Sanskrit grammarians in their investigations, which regard to questions of this kind.

(118) See l.c., page 272.

As Yāska enters deeply in his Nirukta into the subject of the respective origin and derivation of nouns and verbs[119] so also have Indian Grammarians inquired into the nature of gender.

The constitution of nouns is differently viewed by various scholars, and Bhartṛihari mentions that there exist five different opinions about the condition of nouns.[120] Nouns are declared to denote either species; or species and individual; or species, individual and gender; or species, individual gender and number; or species, individual, gender, number and verbal connection.

Gender itself—and this subject interests us here mainly—is then specified, as a quality inherent in the constituents of nature.[121] Though Sanskṛit grammarians view the question of gender merely from its relation to the language they have studied and endeavoured to explain, and did not refer in their researches to foreign languages, as comparative philologists do nowadays, yet their decision on this point is very important, as it is a proof of their sound reasoning and high intellectual attainments.

If M. Renan would have confined the sentence "that the older are the languages, the more distinctly do they

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(119) See: Jāska's Nirukta sammt den Nighaṇṭavas herausgegeben von Rudolph Roth, Göttingen, 1852 pages 35 and 36, also in the "Erläuterungen zum Nirukta," pages 9 and 10; and Professor Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pages 164—168.

(120) In the Vākyapadīya is the following Śloka:

Ekam dvikam trikañcaiva catushkam pañcakam tathā
Nāmārthā iti sarve-mī pakshāḥ śāstre vyavasthitāḥ.

Species, individual, gender, number and verbal connection are in Sanskṛit: Jāti, vyakti, liṅgam, saṅkhyā and kārakam.

According to a sixth opinion the word is its own meaning, as the object implied by it is not affected, *e.g.*, Vishṇum uccāraya; gajaḍadabam uccāraya, pronounce Vishṇu, pronounce ga, ja, ḍa, da, ba; there Vishṇu, and ga, ja, ḍa, da, ba, mean merely the words "Vishṇu" and "gajaḍadaba."

(121) Compare the sentence "Tattacchabdanishṭham vācyam" in Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's Vaiyākaraṇabūshaṇasāra, Kar. 25, Calcutta, 1872, page 44, and "Liṅgatvañca prākṛitaguṇa gatāvasthātmako dharma eva" in Tārānātha Tarkavachaspati's Śabdārtharatnam, Calcutta, 1872, page 118.

express the inflections denoting gender, be it masculine or feminine",[122] to abstract dialects only, nobody could gainsay it, for it coincides with facts. Concrete languages are primarily gender-ignoring, and the indications of gender they contain are of a later origin. That every system has its shortcomings and is not perfect, and that a classification which recognizes gender, as do such languages as Hebrew and Sanskṛit, offers no exception to this rule, need not be commented upon.

If we now return to the classification from which we started, we will see that the South African, the great bulk of the American, and some Asiatic languages acknowledge a classification founded on the difference between animate and inanimate creatures, while some other similar concrete tongues, as Hungarian and the Dravidian dialects, prefer a division between rationals and irrationals. In the Telugu and Tamil grammars the latter go by the name of majors or high caste words, and of minors or low caste words.

Dr. Krapf says in his Outlines of Elements of the Kisuaheli Language:

"The mind of the South African divides, as it were, the whole creation into two halves, of which the one is governed by the principle of spontaneity of movement and of creative activity, whilst the other follows the principle of passiveness and necessity. The South African mind distinguishes the animate creation from the inanimate, and again distinguishes in the animate creation rational and irrational beings, men and brutes. Furthermore, in the inanimate creation it distinguishes between life and death as it were. In general, it would seem that the South African mind, in the formation and cultivation of its language, was guided by the impression of life, which pervades the whole creation in various gradations or modifications."[123]

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(122) See: Renan, pages 25, 26 : "Plus les langues sont anciennes, plus la distinction des flexions féminines et masculines y est marquée : rien ne le prouve mieux que le penchant, inexplicable pour nous, qui porta les peuples primitifs à supposer un sexe à tous les êtres, même inanimés."

(123) See "Outlines of Elements of the Kisuaheli Language," Part II, Chap. II, page 36, as quoted in Rev. S. Crowther's Yoruba Grammar, page 7.

The complications which arise in this classification are plainly visible in the intricacies of American languages. Dr. Schoolcraft[124] furnishes us with an interesting description of them.

"In a general survey of the language as it is spoken, and as it must be written, there is perhaps no feature which obtrudes itself so constantly to view, as the principle which separates all words, of whatever denomination, into animates and inanimates, as they are applied to objects in the animal, vegetable, or mineral kingdom. This principle has been grafted upon most words, and carries its distinctions throughout the syntax. It is the gender of the language, but a gender of so unbounded a scope as to merge in it the common distinctions of a masculine and feminine, and to give a twofold character to the parts of speech. It will be sufficient here to observe that animate nouns require animate verbs for their nominatives, animate adjectives to express their qualities, and animate demonstrative pronouns to mark the distinctions of person.[125] Nouns animate embrace the tribes of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, reptiles, crustacea, the sun, and moon, and stars, thunder and lightning; for they are personified. In the vegetable kingdom their number is comparatively limited, being chiefly confined to trees, and those only, while they are referred to as whole bodies, and to the various species of fruits, seeds, and esculents. It is at the option of the speaker to employ nouns either as animates or inanimates; but it is a choice never resorted to, except in

(124) See: Information respecting the history, condition and prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States, by Harry R. Schoolcraft, LL.D., Part II, page 365ff. Compare also H. H. Bancroft's Native Races of the Pacific States of N.A., Vol. III, page 720, 732, 745, 766 and 777; according to Mr. Bancroft there exist in the Tarasco language three kinds of nouns, rational, irrational and inanimate.

(125) L.c., pages 433, ff. *Sang* to love, *Ne sang eau*, I love a person. "The term *eau* is made to carry the various senses of person, being, life, man, in a variety of compound phrases. Its epicene character permits it to be applied not only to men, without relation to sexuality, but to all the classes of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and whatever is invested with the properties of life or being. On the contrary, what does not belong to this class of vital objects ....is denoted by the long sound of *ee* or simple *e*."

conformity with stated rules. A stone, which is the altar of sacrifice to their manitoes; a bow, so necessary in the chase; a feather, the honored sign of martial prowess; a kettle, so valuable in the household; a pipe, by which friendships are sealed and treaties ratified; a drum, used in their sacred and festive dances; a medal, the mark of authority; vermilion, the appropriate paint of the warrior; wampum, by which messages are conveyed, and covenants remembered. These are among the objects, in themselves inanimates, which require the application of animate verbs, pronouns, and adjectives, and are thereby transferred to the animate class. It is to be remarked, however, that the names for animals are only employed as animates, while the objects are referred to as whole and complete species but the gender[126] must be changed when it becomes necessary to speak of separate members. Man, woman, father, mother, are separate nouns so long as the individuals are meant; but hand, foot, head, eye, ear, tongue are inanimates. Buck is an animate noun while his entire carcase is referred to, whether living or dead; but neck, back, heart, wind-pipe, take the inanimate form. In like manner eagle, swan, dove are distinguished as animates, but beak, wing, tail are arranged with inanimates. So oak, pine, ash, are animates; branch, leaf, root, inanimates. Reciprocal exceptions however exist to this rule. Thus the talons of the eagle, and the claws of the bear and of other animals, which furnish ornaments for the neck, are invariably spoken of under the animate form. The hoofs and horns of all quadrupeds, which are applied to various economical and mystical purposes; the castoreum of the beaver, and the nails of man, are similarly situated. The vegetable creation also furnishes some exceptions of this nature; such are the names for the outer bark of all trees (except the birch), and the branches, the roots, and the resin of the spruce and its congeners."

The division between animates and inanimates is widely spread, *e.g.*, Castrén mentions that the Kottes distinguish

(126) Gender is here used not in the sense we understand it, in fact the word is here hardly appropriate.

in their language between animate and inanimate beings;[127] and the Singhalese decline differently nouns denoting animate beings and inanimate objects.

The Hungarian[128] and Dravidian, as well as the Turkish, Ugrian and other kindred languages appear to have possessed originally this classification, though some did not retain it, and others replaced it by a similar arrangement. All these languages ignore sex, but they substitute in their classification rational and irrational beings for animate and inanimate creatures. The Brahmanized, or rather the Brahman grammarians of the Tamil and Telugu languages, called "rationals" and "irrationals" high caste (*uyar tinai*) and casteless, (*aḥriṇai*) or majors (*mahat* or *mahadvācakamulu*) and minors (*amahat* or *amahadvācakamulu*) respectively. There exists a slight difference in the application of the main principle. Telugu and Gond have preserved the original system in its purer form, while Tamil, Canarese and Malayāḷam have somewhat modified it.

Gods, devils and men are supposed to be endowed with reason. Among men are only understood the lords of the creation. All besides are deficient in reason. But this system labors under one defect. Let the estimate which the

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(127) See M. Alexander Castrén's "Versuch einer Jenissei-Ostjakischen und Kottischen Sprachlehre . . herausgegeben von Anton Schiefner," pages ix and 32. This concrete symptom in their language is the more important as the Kottes are reported to distinguish a masculine and a feminine gender in the pronoun of the third person; two idioms which appear incompatible with each other. The truth is, that what remains of the Kottes and their language is in such a state of dissolution, that it is unsafe to rely on it. The distinction of gender in the pronoun of the third person appears to be of later origin in the Kottish language, and caused by adding the female termination to the pronominal root. In the same manner it is added to the term expressing consanguineous *popēs*, *fi-popēs* (male consanguineous) brother, and *popēs* + *xa* = *popec'a* sister. Compare the Yenissei Ostiak *biseäp* consanguineous, *fīg biseäp* (male consanguineous) brother, *khim biseäp* or *biseäp xam* (female consanguineous) sister; Castrén, l.c., p. 15.

(128) The third personal pronoun when applied to rational beings is *ö* in the singular and *ök* in the plural; when applied to irrationals it is respectively *az* and *arok*.

proud Dravidian has of the individual woman be ever so low—and it cannot be much lowered when the mother, the wife, the sister is treated in speech on a par with beasts and chattels,[129] —yet he cannot altogether deny that there exists a certain connection between him and her. The rank he can refuse to the individual, he is hardly inconsiderate enough to withhold from the whole sex, which, together with his own sex, constitutes the human species. Under these circumstances woman is raised to the higher class of rational beings when she is in the company of other women, *i.e.*, when the word is used in the plural. This is still the rule in Telugu and Gond. In the other principal Dravidian dialects, in Canarese, Tamil and Malayāḷam, "woman," as the female representative of mankind, occupies as such a place among the rational creatures, and has been freed from the slavery of grammatical tyranny.

The primitive genderless state of the language remains unaffected by either concession. For while all animals except men are consigned on the one hand to the lower rank, and the difference of sex existing among them is not noticed, the sexual distinction even between man and woman is only noticed by adding the adjectives "male" and "female" to the gender-ignoring root. Even Tamil, Canarese and Malayāḷam comply with this rule. The Tamil grammarians acknowledge this fact by calling all such words compounds: *pagu padam*, *e.g.*, *magan* boy, is composed of *mag* + *an* (male), and *magal* daughter of *mag* + *al* (female).[130]

(129) *E.g.*, in Telugu, *nā taṇḍri paḍināḍu* my father fell, *nā talli paḍinadi* my mother fell, *nāyāvu paḍinadi* my cow fell, *nā pustakamu paḍinadi* my book fell.

(130) The so-called masculine and feminine personal pronoun of the third person singular is formed by adding, *e.g.*, in Tamil the words for "male" and "female" *an* and *al* to the root of the demonstratives. *Av-an* he, that male, *av-al* she, that female; *iv-an* he, this male, *iv-al* she, this female; *ev-an* who (male), *ev-al* who (female). The minor forms are respectively *adŭ*, *idŭ* and *edŭ*. Telugu has only *vāḍu*, *vīḍu*, *ēḍu* (evaḍu) for the majors, and *adi*, *idi* and *edi* for the minors. To nouns, adjectives, and to verbs are added those "male and female" (an, ān, ōn for the former and al, āl for the latter)

Moreover this seeming distinction of gender is even in these languages merely confined to the Singular, it disappears in the Plural, where the primitive division of high caste and low caste words reappears. The division of words into majors (high caste) and minors (low caste) differs in principle from a classification, which has gender as its base. The exclusion from, or admission of, women into the higher set does not affect the maxim; it only concerns the status of the

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signifying syllables, *e.g.*, *nalla* is good, *nallavan* good he, a good man, *nallaval*, good she, a good woman; *ūr* is village, *ūrān* a village-man, *ūrāl* a village woman; *vandān* he came, *vandāl* she came; *aḍaivān* he will obtain, *aḍaivāl* she will obtain. That the admission of woman to the higher class is an event which happened in a later period, may be presumed from the analogy, which is offered by the celestial beings as sun and moon now belonging to the high caste, while they (the sun, *nāyiru* and *porudu*, and the moon, *tingal* and *nilā*) are in old Tamil ranked among the low caste beings. In this particular case we ought not conceal from ourselves the fact that these celestial bodies were also objects of divine worship. (See: Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, second edition, page 118.)

Considering the origin of the Tamil pronouns *av-an* he, and *av-al* she, we cannot agree with the somewhat sweeping remark of the learned Bishop: "In the Dravidian languages on the other hand, not only is there a full equipment of sex-denoting pronouns, but there is the same development of gender in the verb also" (l. c., page 147 and 148).

"The full equipment of sex-denoting pronouns" to which the right reverend scholar refers, can only be the third personal pronoun in the singular, and even that only in some Dravidian languages. The primitive character of the Dravidian tongues is on the whole clearly genderless, as has been stated before, and which fact has also been admitted by Bishop Caldwell. The Dravidian verbs add, as is the case in most agglutinative languages, to the end of their verbal cases the pronominal terminations, but this can hardly be called a development of gender in the verb. The pronominal terminations are in fact only the representatives of the pronouns. *E.g.*, the Telugu common present is composed of the present verbal participle (*śatrarthakamu*) of the verb in question, of the present relative participle (vartamānārthakaviśeshaṇamu) *unna* of *unḍuṭa* to be, and the pronominal terminations in the singular; 1-ānu, 2-āvu, 3-āḍu (for vāḍu) and adi (for adi); in the plural 1: āmu, 2: āru, 3: āru (for vāru) and avi (for avi), as 1: Sing. (koṭṭucu+unna + ānu, becomes) *koṭṭucunnānu*, 2: *koṭṭucunnāvu*, 3: *koṭṭucunnāḍu* (applying to the mahat) and *koṭṭucunnadi* (applies to the amahat). The grammatical division of Tamil nouns into "uyar tinai" and "aḥ riṇai" is *eo ipso* gender-ignoring.

The modern Marāṭhi exhibits a very complete system of gender, but it is now an Aryanized abstract dialect.

woman, whether she is to be regarded as endowed with, or deficient in, reasoning power.

The great difference which exists between gender-denoting and gender-ignoring languages becomes manifest from the manner in which gender is recognized. In gender-denoting languages gender need not be always distinctly expressed, and yet its presence is felt and pervades the whole grammatical system. Gender-ignoring dialects may on the contrary apparently possess special forms expressive of sex, and be quite devoid of appreciating gender in a grammatical sense, a possibility to which we have alluded previously.[131]

We distinguish in nature especially two sexes, a male and a female; but as there are objects, which cannot be properly ascribed either to the one or to the other class, the existence of a third or neuter class is sometimes deemed emergent. Abstract languages recognize consequently either two or three grammatical genders.[132] The introduction of gender into a language is accompanied both by peculiar advantages and disadvantages. Its superiority lies in its requiring a higher mental descernment, in its appealing to imagination; its defects rise from the difficulties which beset the faculty of judgment. Whether a language admits two, or whether it admits three genders, the difficulty is how to dispose of inanimate objects and abstract thoughts. In the digeneous system they must be enrolled either in the masculine or the feminine class; in the trigeneous system the freaks of imagination interfere with a strictly logical arrangement. But we must bear in mind, that every classification, as was previously mentioned, has its shortcomings, and not one is perfect.

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(131) *E.g.*, in the Tahitian language the term *tamaroa* is used occasionally for boy and *potii* for girl; in Yoruba a son is also called *iwalle* (originally a digger, *i.e.*, one, who digs the grave of his parent) and a daughter *isokun* (*i.e.*, mourner, being the chief mourner at the death of a parent), but neither of these words is masculine or feminine; they are all genderless.

(132) See pages 71 and 74.

Even the ancient Sanskṛit grammarians were struck with the capricious manner, in which gender occurs in language. The Mahābhāshya remarks, that gender is not subject to rules, but is dependent on usage, *i.e.*, usus est tyrannus. [133]

When a language has once adopted the distinction of gender, no matter whether it is digeneous or trigeneous, peculiar affixes or suffixes will be used in order to facilitate a distinction between the different genders, but these auxiliary particles have merely a practical value and are strictly speaking dispensable, as a language can do without them. A research into the age of these different particles, does not concern the question as to the prior existence of any special gender. The different genders may be contemporary, while the particles indicating them, may be ascribed to different times. The presence of the system of gender constitutes an appreciative understanding of the sexual distinctions, but it does not imply, that these varieties were always separately acknowledged in speech. The more a language becomes cultivated, the more attention it pays towards expressing as clearly as possible all distinctions and modifications. This is the time when peculiar formations, special terminations, or intentional changes of pronunciations appear to fix and elucidate the meaning.

From the external form alone we cannot judge in Sanskṛit that *vṛiksha* is m. and *vana* n., that *agni* is m., *mati* f., and *vāri* n., or that *bhānu* is m., *tanu* f., and *madhu* n.; *bhrātṛi* is m., *svasṛi* is f., and *dhātṛi* (providence) is n. In Greek *logos*, *dis*, *athōs*, *patēr*, *anax*, &c., are masculines, while *nosos*, *polis*, *kōs*, *mētēr* and *thrix* are feminines; *damar* is f. and *nektar* n. In Latin compare *scriba* m. and *advena* m. with *mensa* f. and *puella* f.; *dominus* m. with *alvus* f. and *virus* n.; *sal* m. with *animal* n.; *pecten* m. with *nomen* n.; *venter* m. with *linter* f. and *iter* n.; *sermo* m. with *imago* f., &c. The same applies to Hebrew, *e.g.*, the nouns *āb*, *ēm*, *zōr*, *yad*, *regel*, &c.,

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(133) Liṅgam aśishyam lokaśrayatvālliṅgasya.

though being respectively masculine or feminine, do not inform us as to their gender by their outward appearance.

The gender, which is ascribed to objects expresses to a certain extent the opinion, which is passed on their main qualities. As this opinion differs, gender also changes. Thus sun is masculine in Sanskṛit (*sūrya*), Greek (*hēlios*) and English, but it is feminine in German; it is both masculine and feminine in Hebrew (*shemesh*), but only feminine in Arabic (*shamsun*).

Concerning the origin of the different genders the Sanskṛit grammarians entertain peculiar—one may perhaps say abstruse—views, which are intimately connected with the Indian philosophical systems, more especially perhaps with the Sāṅkhya doctrine. The primary substance (prakṛiti), from which all objects are evolved contains three constituents (guṇa), *satvam*, *rajas* and *tamas*, *i.e.*, goodness, passion and darkness. In proportion as these constituents are distributed in the various objects, their nature and character changes. As all objects, so also are the nouns subject to this rule of evolution. When all the three constituents are contained in equal proportions in an object, it has in grammar a neuter gender, if goodness (satvam) prevails, it has a masculine, and if passion (rajas) prevails it has a feminine gender.[134]

While in concrete languages no word has any intrinsic gender, every word belonging to an abstract dialect has a certain gender; it may even have more than one, but is never without gender.

There are three peculiar cases in which the character of gender manifests itself in all its innate force and tenacity.

(134) "Satvarajastamoguṇānām sāmyāvasthā napuṁsakatvam, ādhikyam puṁstvam, apacayaḥ strītvam," in Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's Vaiyākaraṇabūshaṇasāra. See also Tāranātha Tarkavachaspati's Śabdārtharatnam, page 118: "Tathāhi sarveshām triguṇaprakṛitikāryatayā śabdānām api tathātvena guṇagataviśeshācchabdeshu liṅgaviśesha iti kalpyate sa ca viśeshaḥ śāstre ittham abhyadhāyi. Vikṛitasatvādinām tulyarūpeṇāvasthānāt napuṁsakatvam, satvasyādhikye puṁstvam, rajasa ādhikye strītvamiti."

They happen—

I. When one and the same word has more than one gender;

II. When a word has only one gender in common for two different sexes; and

III. When the gender of a word is contrary to its meaning, *e.g.*, when the word for "wife" is of masculine or neuter gender; as the German *das Weib.*

I. Beings endowed with life have often one form in common for both sexes, *e.g.*, *theos* m. f. god and goddess, *pais* m. f., *koros* m. f. child, boy or girl, *būs* m. f. bull or cow, &c. in Greek; *gamal* m. f. camel, *baqar* m. f. kine, *h'asīr* pig, *'achbār*, mouse, &c., in Hebrew. The context will show in these cases, what gender is meant. Even inanimate objects are connected at times with more than one gender, which fact is an indication that the mind is wavering as to their qualities. In Sanskrit, *e.g.*, *kroḍa*[135] breast and *taṭa* bank appear in all three genders, *anīka* face, row, is m. and n., *kaṭaka* string, and *śaṅkha* shell, are the same, *kuṭi* curve, *marīci* ray of light, *maṇi* gem, *manyu* spirit, anger, &c., are m. and f.; so is *aithēr* ether, *lithos* stone, &c., in Greek; *oni* ship, *ruach* spirit, *nephesh* soul, *erez* earth, *shemesh* sun, &c., are m. and f. in Hebrew.

II. Some animals are at times credited with possessing qualities which are generally prevalent in a man or a woman, and being likened to either, the male or female gender is assigned to the species. Thus are *keleb* dog, and *seeb* wolf, m., and *yonāh* dove, and *chasīdāh* stork, f. in Hebrew; *mys* mouse, *hippos* horse (*hippos* as f. denotes generally cavalry), *lagōs* hare, &c., are m., *alōpēx* fox, *kamēlos* camel, f. in Greek.

The firm hold which the genius of an abstract language has on gender manifests itself in the grammatical treatment of these epicene nouns, for if a Greek, *e.g.*, should mention "a female hare," or "a male fox," he would respectively say *lagōs*

(135) In Hemacandra's dictionary is the wellknown Śloka:
Kroḍā hārā tathā dārā traya ete yathā kramam
Kroḍe hareca dāreshu śabdāḥ proktā manīshibhiḥ.

ho thēlys (the female hare) and *alōpēx hē arrhēn* (the male fox) the adjectives "female" and "male" being respectively in the male and female gender, *lagōs* being m. and *alōpēx* f.[136] In a similar manner the Roman calls a male fox *mascula vulpes*.[137] Examples like these show the real difference between gender-ignoring and gender-denoting languages. In Telugu, *e.g.*, "male" and "female" would be simply affixed to "hare" and "fox" without suffering any alteration, but in Greek and Latin the masculine or feminine noun indicates, by using with it respectively the feminine and masculine gender of the adjective, the preponderance of gender.

III. Many abstract languages contain words, whose grammatical gender is contrary to the sex they represent. Most such words are in cases of this kind employed in a secondary meaning, but the pertinacity with which the original gender of the noun is upheld, in spite of the change in meaning which the substantive undergoes, is a very conspicuous indication of gender being engrained in the nature of abstract languages. In Sanskṛit, *e.g.*, we find that the word for "wife" is expressed—besides by the usual feminine synonymes—also by nouns in the masculine (either in the singular or in the plural) and neuter genders.[138] The

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(136) Compare: Schulgrammatik der griechischen Sprache von Dr. Raphael Kühner, Vierte Auflage, page 39.

(137) See: C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis Histor., Lib. XXVIII, c. 46.

(138) In Halāyudha's Abhidhānaratnamālā, II, 339, we meet the following Śloka:

Dārāḥ kshetram kalatrañca bhāryā sahacarī vadhūḥ
Sadharmacāriṇī patni jāyā ca gṛihiṇī gṛihāḥ.

In this śloka "dārāḥ" and "gṛihāḥ" are plurals in the masculine, and "kshetram" and "kalatram" are neuters. The words *parigraha*, *m.* and *talpa*, *n.* are also used in the sense of wife.

The word "dārāḥ" *wife* is derived from the Causative of "dṛī" to split, because "*the wife causes division among brothers*" dārāḥ dārayanti bhrātṛīn; a derivation which is as peculiar as that of the word *putra*, see page 45. In the *Vārtika* to Pāṇini III. 3, 20 we read in Siddhāntakaumudī: "Dārajārau kartari ṇiluk ca; dārayantīti dārāḥ," jarayantīti jārāḥ.

According to the Siddhāntakaumudī (see Tārānātha's edition, Vol. II, page 321) the wife is called "gṛihāḥ" because she takes the grain, &c., and is in the

Greek word *meirakion* "boy," as well as the German noun *Mädchen* "girl," are of neuter gender, as both are diminutives of *meirax* and *magd*, respectively. Here the gender clings to the diminutive termination in spite of the meaning of the noun.

The thoroughness of the Sanskṛit grammarians is again perspicuous in the manner, in which they discuss this singularly intricate question. They clearly distinguish between the word itself and the meaning it expresses. When the word coincides with its meaning, which is generally the case, no difficulty arises, but if the word and its meaning do not coincide, then gender, which is a quality of the noun, goes with the word and not with its meaning.[139] In case that a word has different genders, the grammarians do not consider it to be one and the same word, but state that there are as many different words, as there are different genders. The distinction of gender is attributed to the difference in the constituents (guṇa) of the nominal matter, which difference of constituents constitutes also difference of gender.[140]

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house: "Gṛihṇāti dhānyādikam iti gṛiham, tātsthyāt gṛihāḥ dārāḥ." In the Ṭīkasarvasvam, a commentary to the Amarakosha, a similar explanation is given. The wife is called gṛihāḥ because she receives what is given by her husband and others. "Bhārtrādidattam gṛihnantīti gṛihāḥ. Puṁlingo bahuvacanāntaśca ayam gṛihāḥ śabdaḥ; ca śabdādveshmani. Gehe kaḥ (see Pāṇini, III, 1,144), ityatra sūtre geha śabdasya veśmarūpārthatvāt tadvartitvena patnyāśca lakshyārthatvāt arthadvayepyabhidheye kartari graher dhātoḥ kapratyaye grahijyetyādinā samprasāraṇe gṛihāḥ."

(139) Compare the śloka of the Vākyapadīya:

Na so-sti pratyayo loke yaḥ śabdānugamādṛite
Śabdo-pi yadi bhedena vivakshā syāt tadā tathā.

Pāṇini's sūtra (VII, 1. 23) "Svamornapuṁsakāt" attributes also the neuter gender to the word and not to its meaning. Concerning the word "dārāḥ" the Śabdārtharatnam, page 119, says that, as there is inconsistency in ascribing a masculine gender to the meaning of a word like "dārāḥ" it is clear, that gender is a quality of the noun: "Dārānityādau puṁstvānvayabādhācca liṅgasya śabdadharmatvam."

(140) Compare the maxim contained in the Mahābhāshya: "Ekārthe śabdānyatvāddṛishṭam liṅgānyatvam iti."

The terminations, which in the later period of a language express generally the difference of gender, have in an earlier stage hardly obtained an acknowledged position, to which contingency we have alluded previously on page 84. In Hebrew, *e.g.*, the terminations of the feminine in the singular are *āh* and *eth*, of the masculine in the plural *īm*, and of the feminine in the plural *ōth*; now *āb* father has in the plural the feminine termination *ōth*, *ābōth*, fathers; so have other masculines, as *shēm* name, *layil* night, *misbeach* altar, *nēr* light, *kōl* voice, *shūr* wall, &c.; while the feminine noun *pilegesh* concubine takes the masculine termination *īm* in *pilagshīm*, as do likewise *debōrāh* bee, *millāh* word, *'īr* town,[141] and others. The feminine Sanskṛit nouns ending in short *i* and *u* take in the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular besides their feminine also the masculine terminations. The cardinal numbers from 3 to 10 are in Hebrew masculines, when joined with feminine terminations and feminines without them, as *shelōshāh* m., *shalōsh* f., three; *arb'āāh* m. and *arb'a* f., four, &c., and the numbers from 20 to 100 incl. are of common gender, though ending in the masculine termination.

The pronoun of the third person is the most positive evidence for the character of a language so far as it concerns the question whether a dialect ignores[142] or denotes gender. In the former case the pronoun does not express gender, in the latter two or three forms are required, according as the idiom

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(141) Shemōth, lēlōth, misbechōth, nērōth, kōlōth, shūrōth; pilagshīm, debōrīm, millīm, 'īrīm.

(142) The language of the Kottes is the only concrete dialect which apparently recognizes, as we have seen above, gender in the third personal pronoun; while the representative of an ancient abstract language, the modern Persian, has dropped it even there. But then these exceptions are easily explained when we consider the history of these respective nations. The influence of the frequent invasions of Turks and Tatars into Persia is visible in the Persian language, which acknowledges the concrete distinction of nouns between animates and inanimates in the plural terminations *ān* and *hā*.

The case of the Kottes is also easily explained, when we remember what Castrén says about them, l.c., pages v. and vi: "Ich fand auf meiner

recognises two or three distinct genders. The third personal pronoun is *de facto* the abstract representative of the various persons and objects; it describes their principal qualities by imparting to them in gender-denoting languages a certain sex. The superiority of the trigeneous system over the digeneous is not only one in theory, but also one in practice. The existence of three kinds of genders is based on natural foundations; the application of the trigeneous system facilitates the classification. When every trace of gender is effaced in the external form of gender-expressing languages, especially in the latter period of their existence, the third personal pronoun stands out to the last with its unfurled banner of gender. Thus appears in modern English, from which all other external signs of gender may be said to have vanished, the third personal pronoun "he, she, it."

The personal pronoun of the second person may either drop or retain gender. It is not essential. The speaker knows as a rule the sex of the person whom he addresses, and may or may not advert to it. The Semitic second pronoun indicates the sex of the person addressed, while the Aryan pronoun does not indicate it. But both, Semitic and Aryan languages, agree in omitting to express gender in the first personal pronoun, for here it is really superfluous. Ego is in his own estimation one and indivisible, and though he observes the difference of sex in others, all distinctions merge in his own personality.

This remark applies naturally to *spoken* language alone, for it is quite evident that a written language, *e.g.*, hierogly-

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Reise in Sibirien fünf noch lebende Individuen dieses Volkes auf (*e.g.*, der Kotten), welche unter dem Namen des agulschen Ulusses unter den sogenannten Kamassinzen am Agul, einem Nebenflusse des Kan, lebten. Diese fünf Personen waren übereingekommen ein kleines Dorf am Agul anzulegen, wo sie ihre Nationalität aufrecht erhalten wollen. An diese Colonisten haben sich später einige von den Kotten herstammende Familien angeschlossen, welche bereits ihre Muttersprache vergessen haben und Russen geworden sind;" compare above, page 81.

The difference made in English between *who* and *which*, the former applying to persons, the latter to objects, is only artificial and of recent origin, as proves the passage in the Lord's Prayer, *Our Father, which art in heaven.*

phics, in consequence of their innate concrete pictorial character may be able to denote the differences of gender as well as of position; thus the Old Egyptian hieroglyphics have different symbols for the Ego, in case it is a man, a woman, a king, a god, &c., but all these different hieroglyphics are pronounced alike.

Under these circumstances one cannot help being at first startled by a statement contained in the Rev. Mr. Schoen's Vocabulary of the Haussa language, in which he says on page 13: "One of the beauties of the Haussa language consists in the power it possesses to distinguish the gender in the Personal Pronouns through the Singular Number; especially in the Second and Third Persons, and sometimes in the *First too*, by adding *a*, the characteristic termination of the Feminine Gender to *ni*, *nia* "I." From the very words of Mr. Schoen's it is evident that this distinction of gender in the first personal pronoun is unusual, but even if this were not the case the subsequent explanation of its formation settles its concrete origin; moreover the Haussa dialect does not stand alone in such peculiar concrete speech.[143] A similar distinction occurs in Burmese and Pegu by means of the adjective "female" being added.[144]

The Semitic languages introduce gender into their conjugational system, as the personal pronouns or rather their representatives are inseparably united with the verbal base. The Aryan languages do not include gender in the different persons of their tenses.

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(143) The Haussa belongs to the group of those Central African languages whose philological position has not been definitely settled. From the limited information I have obtained about it, I feel inclined to regard it as an original concrete language which, in consequence of the influence of Semitic pressure underwent a change in its grammatical constitution, and developed itself to a modern abstract language with the distinctions of gender. Besides in the first personal pronoun (*ina* or *ni* m., *nia* and *ta* f., *ta* being like the third person) gender is also expressed in the second and third persons, for *ka* is "thou" masc., *ki* "thou" fem. *shi*, *ya*, *sa* is "he," *ta*, *ita* and *tai* she. If modern Haussa is what I take it to be, it stands to the Semitic language in the same connection as modern Bengali stands to Sanskṛit.

(144) *E.g.*, *kywon ma*, I fem. (inferior).

CHAPTER IX.

ON NUMBER.

The mode in which languages express plurality, though not so important a feature as gender in the development of a dialect, still attracts a great deal of interest. The cause of plurality lies in the diversity of number. The latter being known, the most important item of information is supplied, and the form of the word need not be altered in order to agree with the sense implied by the numeral, or the adjective, which denotes definite or indefinite number. Many languages, *e.g.*, the Malayan, Fijian, Yoruba and Californian possess no plural forms at all, and even languages which own such, do not use them always after numerals. This is the case with Bengāli, where the nouns are joined in the singular to numerals, as *daśa jana* ten persons, *bāro āsana* twelve seats, *aneka loka* many people. Hebrew nouns as *yōm* day, *shānāh* year, *īsh* man, follow the numerals from 11 to 19 occasionally in the singular, viz., *arb'āāh 'āsar yōm* fourteen days, if the ordinals between 20 and 90 precede the noun, the latter follows, as a rule, in the singular: *'esrim 'ir* twenty towns, *shetayim vesishshīm shānāh* sixty-two years, &c. German words used as a means of counting, measuring or weighing, retain the singular when joined with a definite or indefinite numeral; as *Mann* "man," *zwölf (viele) Mann Soldaten*, twelve (many) soldiers, *zehn Stück* ten pieces, *sechs Paar Strümpfe* six pairs of stockings, *drei Buch Papier* three quires of paper, *fünf (mehrere) Mass Wein* five (many) quarts of wine, *vier (einige) Glass Bier* four (some) glasses of beer; *Fuss* foot, *Zoll* inch, *Centner* hundred-weight, *Pfund* pound, *Loth* ounce, *Uhr* in *sieben Uhr* seven o'clock. The English language recognizes the same rule in such words as *foot*, *horse* and *people* (twenty foot, fifteen horse, many people).

The formation of a real plural is certainly evidence of a progress in thought, but unlike gender, which is of primitive origin, it is always the product of a later period. Moreover there will remain certain words in a dialect which will not admit plural terminations. With the introduction of the plural and the spreading of its use, dual forms, where previously of frequent and common use, will be gradually dropped. Compare, *e.g.*, the rare occurrence of the dual in Hebrew—which language represents in its grammatical formations a later state of development, or rather of decay, than does Arabic—with the use of the dual in the latter language, where it is still employed in conjugation, from which it has quite disappeared in Hebrew. In old German the dual is in vogue; in modern German it occurs only exceptionally.

When discussing the subject of plurality, one must not overlook the different position in which nouns and pronouns are respectively placed. When one speaks, *e.g.*, of 2, 3, or 4 horses, the number indicates that there are 2, 3, or 4 representatives of the same animal; but in the dual or plural of a personal pronoun, the *we* or *you* does not represent a multiplication of the same individual. The *we* in the dual is either "thou and I" or "he and I," and the "we" in the plural may be "you and I" or "you, he and I," &c.[145] The pronominal dual and plural formation differs in consequence from that of nouns, and such deviation is only a natural result of the dissimilar origin. The external form of these pronominal terms is generally the most trustworthy witness respecting its construction. The Cherokee[146] pronoun *myself*, &c.,

(145) The personal pronouns in most languages clearly prove that their dual and plural formation is different from that of nouns. One need not quote in support of this assertion the pronouns of such strange languages as Tahitian, Hawaian, Cherokee, &c., but abstract languages like Hebrew and Sanskrit aver the truth of this fact in the formation of their abstract pronoun "we," both in the Dual and Plural.

(146) See Morgan, l.c., page 137 note I, the pronunciation has been altered according to page 292.

undergoes in the Dual and Plural forms the following alteration:—

Singular.		Dual.	
1. *E-gwa-suh*, myself.		1 and 2.	*Gi na-suh*, ourselves, thou and I.
2. *Tsa-suh*,	thyself.	1 and 3.	*O gi-na-suh*, ,, he and I.
3. *U-wa-suh*,	himself.	2.	*Sda-suh*, yourselves, you two.

Plural.

1 and 2. *I-ga-suh*, ourselves, three or more of you and me.
1 and 3. *O-ga-suh*, ,, three or more of them and me.
2. *I-tsa-suh*, yourselves, three or more.
3. *O-na-suh*, themselves.

The Fijian pronoun has even four numbers, I is *koi au*, I and you is *koi kedaru*, we two not you *koi keirau*, we three *koi kedatou*, we three not you *koi keitou*, we (including persons addr.) *koi keda*, we (excluding person addr.) *koi keimami*.[147]

Reduplication is very commonly employed to express plurality; we find it among the Malayans[148] as well as among the Chinese,[149] the Bushmen[150] adopted it, and so do the Columbians[151] in America, and many languages which own

(147) See Hazlewood's Fijian Grammar, page 23: "There are undoubtedly *four* numbers in the Fijian pronoun. The characteristic marks of the dual and third number are in this case corruptions of the numerals *rua* two and *tolu* three." Compare also the formation of the personal pronouns in Papuan dialects. In Annatom "I" is *ainyak*, *akaijan*, "you two and I;" *ajumrau*, "you two – I;" *akataij*, "you three + I;" *aijumtaij*, you three – I. In Mallicollo "I" is *inu*, "you" *khaiim*, and he (she, it) *na-u*, "we two" (excl.) is *na-mühl*, "we two" (incl.) *drivan*, "you two" *kha mühl*, "you three" *na tarsi*, "we three" *dra-tin*, "you four" *na-tavatz*, and "we four" *dra tovatz*. The Annatom and Mallicollo pronouns are taken from Sayce's principles, pages 279, 280.

(148) *Laki* man, *laki laki* men; *raja* prince, *raja-raja* princes; *batu* stone, *batu batu* stones.

(149) *Jin* man, *jin-jin* men; *yen* swallow, *yen yen* swallows, &c.

(150) See Bleek, Journ. of the Anthropological Inst., page 94.

(151) *Mahte* (*mahs*) house, *mahtmahs* houses in the Nooka dialect; Bancroft, page 610: "The Salish plural of substantives is formed by duplicating the root, *skoi* mother, *skoikoi* mothers; by duplicating and dropping a vowel from the root, *skaltmigu* man, *sklkaltmigu* men; *esmock* mountain, *esmokmck* mountains; or by duplicating a consonant in the midst of a word, or by prefixing the syllable *ul*, or by substituting another case; ibidem, page 616; see also page 700.

distinct plurals have not discarded the use of reduplication. After all plurality is a sort of repetition, and repetition being best represented by reduplication, we need not be astonished that the latter be chosen as a medium for pointing out plurality. In fact, it is one of the main specialities of reduplication, for the others as continuation, intensity, diversity or distribution are either intimately connected with or even derived from plurality.[152]

Reduplication, as a substitute for plurality, recommends itself in many respects. It appears natural, is intelligible to such an extent, that common usage supports it. But it is for all that a clumsy contrivance.

In Chinese and Anamese there exist compounds in which the supplemented word does not add any new significance to the term to which it is added, but only specifies more distinctly its meaning. To *fu* father, and *mu* mother, is thus joined *cin* (kindred), as *fu-cin* father, *mu-cin* mother. The original meaning of the apposition becomes lost in such compounds, and it is used as a mere classic addition, as are such words like *lao* old (in *lao-hu* tiger, *lao-yu* raven, &c.); *teu* head (round) in *si-teu* sun; *orl* child (young in years) in *tian-orl* point, smallness, *sin-orl* news, &c.; and *ce* child, in

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(152) Reduplication enhances the meaning of a noun as well as of an adjective and adverb. If an object is, *e.g.*, big, reduplication renders it bigger; if small, it becomes smaller. *Dingo* in Mandengo and *di* in Sisu mean child, *dindingo* and *didi* is a little child; *ba* in Mandengo is river, *baba* rivulet. In Fijian *civa* is oyster and *civaciva* is a little oyster; *vale* is house and *valevale* a small house (house on canoes). The comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives and adverbs convey intensifications of the positive, and can thus be properly expressed by reduplication. *Mandam* in Sanskrit is slow, *mandam mandam* signifies very slow; the Hebrew *meōd* much, in *meōd meōd* means very much. The Malayan language often forms adverbs by reduplication: *kunung kunung* suddenly, from *kunung*; *asing asing* separately, from *asing* separate. Continuation is often expressed by reduplication, as shows the Hebrew *mattāh mattāh* deeper and deeper, the Telugu *vini vini* having continually heard, *vrāyagā vrāyagā* continually writing. This signification of continuation and intensity secures, when repetition is resorted to in the conjugation of a verb, to such formation the meaning of past time, as prove the reduplicated Perfects in Sanskṛit and Greek.

tao-ce knife, *ce-ce* list, *yang-ce* form, manner, *yen-ce* tael, and *fa-ce* rule, means.[153]

In the course of time such supplements become typical, and their sphere of usefulness is often widened, by being called upon to assist in counting. They become numeral auxiliaries. To be used as such they are eminently fit, as their comprehensive signification allows their being applied as general terms to species. The use of such numeral terms does not exclude reduplication. In fact both kinds of plural formations are often used in one and the same language, as in Malayan, in some Further-Indian and other concrete languages. In Malayan[154] *ālai* is applied to tenuous objects as leaves, grasses, hairs and feathers; *batang* (stem, trunk) to trees, logs, spars and javelins; *bāntak* to rings; *bidang* (spreading, spacious) to mats, carpets, thatch, sails, skins and hides; *biji* (seed) to corn, seeds, stones, pebbles, gems, eggs, eyes of animals, lamps and candlesticks; *bilah* (pale, stake) to cutting instruments, as knives, daggers and swords; *butir* (grain) to pepper, beads, cushions, pillows, brooks and rivers; *buwah* (fruit) to fruit, loaves, cakes, mountains, countries, lakes, boats and ships, houses, palaces and temples; *ekor* (tail) to beasts, birds, fishes and reptiles; *kayu* (wood) to any object rolled up, as a sheet of paper; *orang* (man or person) to human beings; *puchuk* (top) to cannon and small arms, to candles and torches and letters; *rawan* (gristle or cartilage) to cordage, &c. In Burmese *yauk* is affixed to the numeral when human beings are counted, *gaung* when animals, *tsī* when beasts of burden or carriages, *tshu* when deities, pagodas, &c., *pa* when persons of rank, *lono* when round things, *pya* when flat

(153) See: Chinesische Sprachlehre von Wilhelm Schott, Berlin, 1857, pages 12 and 13, where will be found too the quotation taken from the *Arte China* of Gonçalves, page vii, "as addiçoens tzu, olr sao só para encher e nada significao." Such supplements resemble the Egyptian ideographic hieroglyphs first discovered by Champollion.

(154) See: John Crawfurd's Grammar of the Malay Language, pages 11 and 12.

things.[155] The employment of such numeral auxiliaries is of common occurrence among the other kindred dialects.

The preponderant use of such numeral auxiliaries is by itself a sufficient evidence of the prevailing tendency towards concreteness. The conception of an abstract plurality is an impossibility so long as a language has recourse to similar contrivances. Numeral auxiliaries exist also in abstract languages, but the manner in which they are employed does not in the least interfere with the formation of a real plural, for they themselves are not *pluralia tantum*. English words like pair, couple, brace, yoke, leash, head, pack, sail, and many others labour respecting their application as numeral

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(155) See: G.H. Hough's "English and Burman Vocabulary preceded by a concise Grammar," Serampore, 1825, pages 23 and 24. The Grammar of the Shan Language by the Rev. J. N. Cushing, Rangoon, 1871, gives the following extensive yet incomplete list of the numeral auxiliaries in the Shan language on pages 24-27: "*Kau* is applied to human beings, *to* to animals, *an* to inanimate things, *kan* (stem) to things with stems, as flowers, *kĭng* (branch) to branches of trees and stalks of plants, *kam* (time) to words, *ku* (pair) to pairs, *kop* to bunches of plantains, to quantities measured with both hands, *khēp* to flat things, *khuny* (coil) to rings, bands, *khau* to words, speech, *keu* (creeper) to creepers, *kon* to individual things usually existing in pairs, as one eye, three sandals, *nyeru* (assembly) to companies of men, *hsĭk* (small split) to things made of small pieces, to steps of a ladder, to the teeth, &c., *hsiny* (string) to any thing long, as hair, *hsu* to deities and pagodas, *ting* (to carry on the head) to loads of firewood, *tung* (field) to lowland rice-fields, *hteu* (extended line) to rows of trees, *po* to highland rice-fields, *pao* to deities, ecclesiastics, rulers and religious precepts, *pĭs* to skeins, *hpak* to things cut or split, as bamboo pieces, *hpĭny* to boards, *hpeun* to books, articles of clothing, mats, &c., *mak* to knives, needles, hoes, &c., *muk* (company) to men and animals, *may* (river) to bodies of water, *mul* (leaf) to leaves, flat dishes, *lang* to buildings, *lau* to guns, *lam* to boats, *lak* to round or cubical things, as mountains, fruit, cups, fans, *lany* (blossom) to things spread open, as flowers, umbrellas, *lok* (places) to apartments in a rice-field, chess-board, *lim* to long things, as posts, *wi* to bunches of plantains, *han* (to story up) to houses with stories, *hung* (grain) to grains, ears of corn, *huny* to round, cubical things, as mountains, fruits, eggs, *hū* (hole) to openings, as doors, *hāū* (bundle) to bundles, *heu* (stock or branch) to branches of plantains, fruits, &c., &c." Captain James Low mentions in his Grammar of the Thai or Siamese Language, Calcutta, 1828, pages 21 and 22, that the Thai terms *krubāk* (*kubāk*), *lem*, *no-ei*, *do-ung*, *thee*, *seeng* and *toa* are used in a similar manner as numeral auxiliaries.

auxiliaries also under certain restrictions, and in this respect they resemble the Malayan and Further-Indian terms, but here the likeness ends.

Abstract languages can include expressions of gender in numeral suffixes, but sex and number remain two distinct and separate categories. Both, if used as principles of classification, agree in so far as a modus of arranging is inherent in both, but otherwise they have nothing in common. I cannot therefore share the opinion of Professor Sayce, who endeavours to prove a connection existing between these two kinds of auxiliaries.

"Indeed,[156] these numeral affixes can be shown to have the same origin and intention as the pronominal suffixes of South Africa, although the final result of creating classes of nouns distinguished by what we call gender has not been so perfectly attained. Thus, in Burmese, the numeral termination changes according to the object numbered....Farther advanced on the road to gender is the phenomenon that meets us in the Tshetsh language in the Caucasus, where adjectives and the substantive verb change their initial letter after certain substantives, &c."

From what has been said before, this question seems not to require to be again discussed.

Reduplication and numeral auxiliaries indicate thus generally a concrete plurality, but numeral adjectives may express, as we have mentioned before, an indefinite number both in concrete and in abstract languages. Similar words are found in all dialects. We need not therefore enlarge on this topic, especially as no principle depends on it, and shall content ourselves with alluding to the peculiar Tahitian[157] mode of plurality. The words *na*, *mau*, *tau*, *pue* and *hui* serve generally this purpose: *na* expresses a small plurality, two or three, as *na medua* parents (father, mother); *mau* an unlimited number, as *mau medua* parents (any, all);

(156) See Sayce, l.c., pages 270 and 271.
(157) A Grammar of the Tahitian Dialect, pages 9 and 10.

tau a small indefinite plurality, but is not synonymous with *na*; *pue* and *hui* are prefixed to certain collective nouns and mark no definite plurality, as *pue arii* the royal family or principal chiefs, *hui raatira* the subordinate chiefs collectively.

The pronoun of the third person in the plural and the determinative pronouns "these" and "those" are often employed to express plurality. In many languages no special pronoun of the third person exists, and determinative pronouns occupy their place; this is, *e.g.*, the case in the Dravidian dialects. We need not therefore be surprised that the pronoun of the third person and determinative pronouns are at times used for the same purpose.

The definite article is in most Negro dialects replaced by the personal or demonstrative pronoun: "the person" becomes *person he*, "the persons" *persons they*. In the Vei language the plural is uniformly expressed by the termination *nu*, which according to the Rev. Mr. Koelle is most likely derived from the Plural of the third personal pronoun, anu, they.[158] The personal pronoun is also employed in Fijian to distinguish the numbers of the nouns, *o koya na tamata* is the man, *oi rau na tamata* the two men, *o ira na tamata* the men; but this use of the personal pronouns is confined to rational beings, as gods, angels, devils and men.[159] In Shan the pronoun *khau* "they" is applied to the same use, *e.g.*, *kun* man, *kun khau* men; *ki*, which denotes "they" in Khasi and Synteng, serves the same purpose, *kypa* father, *ki kypa* fathers. It is likewise probable that the syllable *ko*, which in some Sonthali, Mundari and Kol dialects forms the plural suffix, is derived from the personal pronoun *ako* (unko, &c.) they.

Plurality can therefore be expressed in various ways by reduplication, by numerals and numeral auxiliaries, by definite

(158) S.W. Koelle's Outlines of a Grammar of the Vei Language, page 21.
(159) See D. Hazlewood's Fijian and English Dictionary and Grammar, page 11.

and indefinite numeral adjectives,[160] by personal and determinative pronouns, and in some other peculiar manner. All these expedients commend themselves and suffice for special purposes. The latter are momentarily of greater importance and require particular attention. In fact we only arrive at general conclusions after observing strictly their special constituents. In the same manner as the special precedes the general, so also special expressions of plurality precede general ones.

Whenever dual forms[161] exist by the side of plural forms, we may conclude with perfect safety that the former are of an earlier origin than the latter. As two comes before three, thus also is the dual anterior to the plural.

Whatever may be the origin of a general plural form,[162] its existence in a language shows certainly a higher degree of cultivation; but this development does not indicate so much a mental superiority as it suggests a more intimate appreciation of practical wants.

The change of a singular into a plural recognizes a material difference, such as is implied when we speak of four books instead of one.

The faculty of counting is in the same way more dependent on practice than indicative of greater or lesser mental ability. It will increase when it receives adequate inducement or is fostered artificially.

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(160) *E.g.* "all," "many."

(161) That there exist special terms to express the number two or duality, while other higher numerals do not generally possess a like distinction, may be perhaps explained from the great impression created by the necessity of abandoning the singular, and substituting for it a new number. As the dual represents the first and therefore most impressive change, the dual and the plural are in some languages the same. But the adoption of a concrete dual formation does not prevent that other numerals as 3, 4, &c., should be noticed in a similar manner, and indeed these exist, as we have seen (page 95) expressions for such numbers.

(162) There is no reason why the plural affixes should not be regarded as the representatives of words expressing "multitude," in monosyllabic languages such terms appear in their unchanged form.

Between the savages[163] who cannot count beyond one or two, or who use their fingers and toes for that purpose,[164] and the civilized European with whom counting is a merely mechanical process, there seems to exist an insurmountable gap. A considerable distance separates them indeed, but one which can be lessened, and in this particular instance is lessened by practice and instruction. An intimate acquaintance with the concrete value of the different numbers will soon dispel hazy notions, and effect the adoption of numerals in preference to vague indefinite expressions.[165]

The names of the numerals often explain or afford a means of retracing the numerical system which originally prevailed, and which was afterwards abandoned in preference to another. The Dravidian numerals "eight" and "nine" render thus the primitive usage of counting up to "seven" instead of up to "ten" very probable. Moreover a research into the meaning of the names of the numerals is a good measure for ascertaining their original value.

The various systems of numbering are objects well worthy of inquiry, and supply weighty materials for a critical examination of a language. On the other hand, we should not

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(163) Compare the chapter on the art of counting in Edward B. Tylor's "Primitive Culture," Vol. I, pages 218-246.

(164) See "Outlines of a Grammar of the Vei Language, by S. W. Koelle, pages 29 and 30: "The Vei people, and many other African tribes, when counting, first count the fingers of their left hand, beginning, be it remembered, from the little one; then in the same manner those of the right hand, and afterwards the toes. When both the fingers and the toes were counted, they said: a person (*mo*) is finished (bande), and hence *mo bandy* came to mean 20."

(165) In the Vocabulary of Aboriginal Dialects of Queensland, by Mrs. Harriott Barlow, we find this significant note: "Most of the blacks, when asked to express a number beyond three, give the word signifying "many," or else say "that's all, no more my talk." Yet many of the younger men can count well in English. We had, last year, on the station, a young black fellow who could count a flock of sheep (say 200 to 1,200) as they ran through the yard-gate." See Journal of the Anthropol. Institute, Vol. II, page 171.

overestimate the importance of numerals agreeing in different languages. Of all words numerals commend themselves especially to be adopted in consequence of their practical usefulness, and though such a universal agreement has not yet been attained in speech, it nearly exists in writing.

The introduction of a common plural formation represents in a language a progress in the direction of generalization, but the concrete nature of number as exhibited in plurality forbids it to exercise a very important influence on the character of a language.

Nevertheless number, together with gender, though the former to a very small extent, are those two categories which offer an insight into the mental activity of a language; while space and time, manifesting themselves mostly in declension and conjugation, exhibit in their outward appearance the external machinery to which a language resorts in order to express them. Gender and number represent accordingly in a language the internal working of the mind, while space and time are rather the maintainers of the outward changes and modifications. Both must be considered together in order to obtain a true insight into the character of a language.

We reserve for examination at another time the external formation of language as it appears mainly in declension and conjugation. This particular subject has always attracted the attention of scholars, and much more is known about it than about what we may call the reflective portion of speech. Though much more must be done to enable us to establish with positive assurance a classification of languages, yet we hope that what is known of the different tongues of the globe enables us to forecast the formation of a system which, however imperfect in its details, contains in itself the embryo of a scientific arrangement of languages, which, in order to be true, must not contradict but coincide with the acknowledged laws of anthropology.

CHAPTER X.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYSTEM.

CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGES.

The classification of languages, which we propose, will be as follows.

We arrange all languages in two great divisions, which we call *concrete* and *abstract.*

Both the concrete and the abstract divisions are each subdivided into two classes.

The concrete classes are called *heterologous* and *homologous,* because, as we have explained previously (on page 56), heterogeneous persons when speaking to each other use in the former class different expressions, from those they use when speaking to persons of their own sex; while heterogeneous persons use in the latter class the same expressions as when they address homogeneous persons.

The classes of the abstract division are called *digeneous* and *trigeneous,* because in the one class are acknowledged two genders, the masculine and feminine, in the other are acknowledged three genders, a masculine, feminine and neuter.

Both the heterologous and homologous classes contain three groups: I., the first marks the difference existing between elder and younger consanguinity by adopting special terms for each, and the difference of sex, by adding either the words *male* and *female,* or by modulation of sound; II., the second possesses special terms for elder brother and elder sister, but one in common for younger brother and younger sister; III., the third has four distinct terms for each of these varieties of kinship (see page 56).

If we represent concrete and abstract languages by C and A respectively, their classes by α and β, and the groups by 1, 2 and 3, we obtain the following symbols $C\alpha^1$, $C\alpha^2$, $C\alpha^3$; $C\beta^1$, $C\beta^2$, $C\beta^3$; $A\alpha$ and $A\beta$.

To Ca^1 belong (*a*) such American languages, as the Dakota, Salish and Eskimo dialects; (*b*) the Polynesian languages, as Hawaian, Tahitian, Tongan, Fijian, Maori, &c.; (*c*) very likely many Australian, and (*d*) the Basque languages.

Ca^2 includes some American and Australian languages.

$C\beta^1$ contains the Malayan, many African and Asiatic languages.

$C\beta^2$ is represented by the Mongolian and Tungusian languages.

$C\beta^3$ includes Chinese, Japanese, the Finnish, Turkish, Dravidian, and other languages.

Aa is represented by Old Egyptian, Coptic, the Berber and the Semitic languages.

$A\beta$ contains the Aryan languages.

This classification, which is based on the peculiar internal disposition of languages, must be supplemented by that other classification, which employs the external peculiarities as a criterion of arrangement.

Both together, the internal and the external characteristics, will, when rightly understood and faithfully expressed, present a true description of the nature of a language.

According to their outward appearance the most distinct division appears to be that into *monosyllabic* and *polysyllabic* languages, yet as the roots of words in many polysyllabic languages can be retraced to a monosyllabic state, and as *polysyllabism* is common to nearly all languages, the latter does not recommend itself as a principle of classification. In its stead languages are generally arranged in two other groups, the one is called *agglutinative* and the other *inflectional.* No doubt the introduction of these three stages—monosyllabic, agglutinative and inflectional—is very ingenious and commends itself to logical reasoning, but except the first stage, which is clearly defined, the other two—and more especially the agglutinative stage—are open to the objection that they are too

vague. Moreover the inflectional stage may be regarded as a variety merely of the agglutinative stage.

I believe it is necessary to enlarge the system of external classification. Even when retaining the three stages of isolation, agglutination and amalgamation, it should not be forgotten, that we know nothing about the manner in which the various languages which we admit to these stages, reached them. More certain information is required to decide the question of the external development of languages. For the present it suffices to point out as many species of languages as are actually existing according to the differences in their external formation.

To future investigations is reserved the task of studying the external characteristics of the various languages to such an extent, that their external formation can be exactly specified and each language assigned to its proper place.

I restrict myself in mentioning a few prominent, well known characteristics, in order to illustrate the system proposed here.

If we represent the terms indicative of the external construction of languages by Roman figures, then

Monosyllabic languages will be expressed by				I
Incorporative	do.	do.	do. ..	II
Euphonic (North African Negro)			do. ..	III
Alliteral (South African)		do.	do. ..	IV
Agglutinative		do.	do. ..	V
Agglutinative inflectional		do.	do. ..	VI
Dissyllabic inflectional		do.	do. ..	VII
Inflectional synthetical		do.	do. ..	VIII
Inflectional analytical		do.	do. ..	IX

This scheme is only provisional, as it is by no means complete. Many languages have not been described, but it will be possible after sufficient information to assign a proper place to each language.

The result at which we hope to have arrived may be briefly summed up as follows :—

All languages must, according as the propensity towards specializing and generalizing prevails, be divided into two classes, which we have called concrete and abstract. Difference in internal disposition determines difference of origin. We know of no concrete language which can be regarded as related to a primitive abstract language, or to have developed into an abstract idiom unless through the introduction of a foreign abstract element, which introduction produces an entire change. A transition from concrete to abstract, though possible according to the laws of nature, cannot be actually pointed out, and the distinction may therefore be considered to be a fixed one to all intents and purposes.

This assertion does not exclude the fact, that one language may be in one subdivision and another in another subdivision of the same class, and yet both may be originally related to each other. In like manner there exist different varieties in the same species in the several kingdoms of nature.

The concrete class ignores totally the distinctions founded on gender, while gender is the keystone to the abstract system.

Both classes admit of subdivisions, and in the concrete as well as in the abstract classes the peculiar formation of the terms of kinship is chosen as the principal criterion.

The external disposition, as manifested in the outward formation, combined with the material mode of thinking manifested by a language, betrays fully the peculiar character of an idiom.

SCHEME OF THE SYSTEM

EXTERNAL CHARACTERISTICS.	INTERNAL			
	CONCRETE			
	HETEROLOGOUS. (*a*)			
	1	2	3	1
I. (MONOSYLLABIC).	..	..	..	(*a*) Corean, (*b*) Transgangetic, (*c*) Kiranti, (*d*) Tibetan languages.
II. (INCORPORATIVE).	(*a*) Many American languages. (*b*) Basque languages.	Algonquin	..	..
III. (EUPHONIC).	..	..	..	Mandengo, Yoruba, &c.
IV. (ALLITERAL).	..	..	..	Congo, Angola (Kaffir ?), &c.
V. (AGGLUTINATIVE).	(*a*) Polynesian, (*b*) Australian languages.	Narrinyeri	..	Malayan languages.
VI. (AGGLUTINATIVE INFLECTIONAL).	..	..	..	..
VII. (DISSYLLABIC INFLECTIONAL).	..	..	..	..
VIII. (INFLECTIONAL SYNTHETICAL).	..	..	..	..
IX. (INFLECTIONAL ANALYTICAL).	..	..	..	..

Explanation: $C\alpha^1$ *II* is the symbol for many American as well as for the Basque languages.

$C\alpha^1$ *V* ,, ,, ,, Polynesian and many Australian languages.

$C\alpha^2$ *II* ,, ,, ,, the American Algonquin, &c.

$C\alpha^2$ *V* ,, ,, ,, the Australian Narrinyeri, &c.

$C\beta^1$ *I* ,, ,, ,, Corean, the Transgangetic and Tibetan languages, &c.

$C\beta^1$ *III* ,, ,, ,, the Mandengo, Yoruba languages, &c.

$C\beta^1$ *V* ,, ,, ,, the Congo, Angola languages, &c.

$C\beta^1$ *V* ,, ,, ,, the Malayan languages.

OF CLASSIFICATION.

CHARACTERISTICS.

(*C*)		ABSTRACT. (*A*)	
HOMOLOGOUS. (β)		DIGENEOUS. (α)	TRIGENEOUS. (β)
2	3		
..	Chinese	Old Egyptian.	..
..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..
Tungusian, Mongolian languages.	Japanese, Finnish, Turkish, Ancient Gauḍian, Dravidian languages, &c.	..	..
..	..	..	Hindustāni, Bengāli, Singhalese.
..	..	Semitic languages.	..
..	..	..	Sanskṛit, Zend, Old Greek, Latin, &c.
..	..	..	Italian, Modern German, English, &c.

Explanation: $C\beta^2$ *V* is the symbol for the Tungusian, Mongolian languages, &c.

$C\beta^3$ *I* ,, ,, ,, Chinese.

$C\beta^3$ *V* ,, ,, ,, Japanese, Finnish, Turkish, Dravidian, &c.

$A\alpha$ *I* ,, ,, ,, Old Egyptian.

$A\alpha$ *VII* ,, ,, ,, the Semitic languages.

$A\beta$ *VI* ,, ,, ,, Hindustāni, Bengāli, Singhalese, &c.

$A\beta$ *VIII* ,, ,, ,, Sanskṛit, Zend, Ancient Greek, Latin, &c.

$A\beta$ *IX* ,, ,, ,, Italian, Modern German, English, &c.

TAB

CONCRETE

SPECIMENS OF

		Language.	My Father.	My Mother.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.	My Son.
								AMERICAN
Dakota Stem.	Dakota Nations.	Dakota, Isauntie(1) ..	Ah-tay.	E-nah.	....	....	....	Me-chink-she.
		,, Yankton ..	Ah-ta.	E-nah.	....	....	....	Me-chisk-she.
		,, Yanktonais ..	Ah-ta.	E-nah.	....	....	....	Me-she-da.
		,, Sisseton ..	Ah-ta.	En-na.	....	....	....	Me-chink-she.
		,, Ogalalla ..	Ah-ta.	E-nah.	....	....	....	Me-chink-se-la.
		,, Brule ..	Ah-ta.	E-nah.	....	....	....	Me-chink-she.
		,, Uncpapa ..	Ah-ta.	E-nah.	....	....	....	Me-chink-she.
		,, Blackfoot ..	Ah-ta.	E-nah.	....	....	....	Me-chink-she.
		Asiniboine	Ah-da.	E-nah.	....	....	....	Me-chink-she.
	Missouri Nations.	Punka	Ta-de-ha (Wa-we-ta).	Na-ha.	....	....	....	Nisse-ha.
		Omaha	In-da-de.	E-na-ha.	....	....	....	We-nis-se (m. sp.) Wezhingo (f.sp.)
		Iowa	Heen-ka.	Heen-na.	....	....	....	Hee-yin-ga.
		Otoe	Hin-ka.	He-nah.	....	....	....	He-ne-cha.
		Kaw	E-da-je.	E-naw.	....	....	....	Be-she-ga.
		Osage	In-ta-che.	In-nah.	....	....	....	We-she-ka.
		Winnebagoe ..	Cha-je-ka (E-un-cha).	Na-ne-ka (E-oo-ne).	....	....	....	E-ne-ke.
	Upper Missouri Nations.	Mandan	Ta-tay.	Na-a.	....	....	....	Me-ne-ka (m. sp.) Ko-ne-ka (f.sp.)
		Minnitaree	Ta-ta.	Ih-ka.	....	....	....	Ma-de-sha.
		Crow	Ah-ha.	E-ke-a.	....	....	....	Bot-sa-sa.
	Gulf Nations.	Chocta	A-ki.	Ush-ki.	....	....	....	Suh-suh.
		Chickasa	Ang-ki.	Lush-ki.	....	....	....	Su-soh.
		Creek	Chuhl-ke.	Chutch-ke.	....	....	....	Chup-su-che (m.sp.) Chuch-hus-wa (f.sp.)
		Cherokee	E-dau-da.	E-tsi.	....	....	....	A-gwae-tsi.
		Mountain Cherokee ..	Ah-ge-do-da.	A-gid-ze.	....	....	....	A-gwa-tze.
	Prairie Nations.	Grand Pawnee ..	Ah-te-ase.	Ah-te-ra.	....	....	....	Perow, Tik-is.
		Arickaree	Ah-te-ah.	At-na.	....	....	....	Perow, Na-te-naó.

(1) Systems of Consanguinity, by Lewis H. Morgan, p. 293 ff;

LES.

LANGUAGES.

THE Ca^1 CLASS.

My Daughter.	Male speaking, my elder Brother.	Female speaking, my elder Brother.	Male speaking, my younger Brother.	Female speaking, my younger Brother.	Male speaking, my elder Sister.	Female speaking, my elder Sister.	Male speaking, my younger Sister.	Female speaking, my younger Sister.
LANGUAGES.								
Me-chunk-she.	Chin-yay.	Te mdo.	Me-sun-kā.	Me-sun-kā.	Tan-kay.	Me-chum.	Me-tank-she.	Me-tan-kā.
Me-chounk-she	Che-a.	Chim-a-do.	Me-soh-kā.	Me-soh-kā.	Ton-ka.	Chu-ih.	Me-tānk-she.	Me-tun-kā.
Me-chunk-shā.	Che-a.	Tib-e-do.	Me-sunk-ā.	Me-sunk-ā.	Tank-she.	Me-tank-a-do.	Me-tānk-she.	Me-tank-a-do.
Me-chunk-she.	Che-a.	Tib-a-do.	Me-sun-kā.	Me-sun-kā.	Tank-she.	Tān-ka.	Me-tānk-she.	Me-tān-kā.
Me-chunk-se-la.	Che-a.	Tib-a-lo.	Me-soh.	Me-soh-ka-la.	Tā-ka.	Chu-wa.	Me-tunk-she.	Me-tunk-hā-la
Me-chunk-she.	Me-che-a.	Tib-a-lo.	Me-sunk-a-lā.	Me-sunk-ā-lā.	Tonk-a.	Chu-a.	Me-tunk-she.	Me-tonk-a.
Me-chunk-she.	Che-a.	Tib-a-lo.	Me-soh-kā-la.	Me-soh-ka-la.	Ton-ka.	Chu-ih.	Me-tank-she.	Ton-kā.
Me-chunk-she.	Che-a.	Tib-a-lo.	Me-son-kā-lā.	Me-son-kā-la.	Ton-ka.	Chu-wa.	Me-tonk-she.	Me-ton-kā.
Me-chunk-she.	Me-chin.	Me-tim-do.	Me-soh.	Me-soh.	Me-ton-ga.	Me-chun.	Me-tank-she.	Me-tā.
Win-no-ga.	Zhin-dā-ha.	Ton-no-hā.	Ka-ga.	Ka-ga.	Ton-ga-hā.	Zhon-da-hā.	Wee-ha.	We-ha.
We-zhun-ga.	Wee-zhe-tha.	Wee-te-noo.	Wee-son-gā.	Wee-son-ga.	Wee-too-ga.	Wee-zon-tha.	Wee-ton-gā.	Wee-ton-gā or Wee-ha.
Hee-yun-ga.	He-yen-nā.	He-yen-nā.	Heen-thun-ga.	E-chun-che.	He-yu-nā.	Heen-tan-ga.	Heen-tan-ya.	Heen-tun-ga.
He-yun-ga.	Hee-ye-nā.	Hee-ye-na.	Heen-thun-ga.	E-chun-che.	Wau-he-cha.	Heen-tang-a.	Heen-tan-ga.	Heen-tān-ga.
She-me-she-ga	Be-zhe-yeh.	Be-che-do.	Be-sun-gā.	Be-sun-ga.	Be-tun-ga.	Be-sho-wa.	Be-tun-ga-zhin-ga.	Ah-se-zhe-gā.
We-shon-ka.	We-she-lā.	We-chin-to.	We-sun-ka.	We-son-kā.	We-tun-ka.	We-sho-la.	We-tun-ka.	We-tun-ka.
E-nook.	E-ne.	E-che-to.	E-sunk.	E-sunk.	E-noo.	E-noo.	Wych-kā.	E-chunk.
Ma-no-hā-ka.	Moo-ka.	Me-sho-kā.	Me-sho-ka.	Me-sho-ka.	P-tā-me-ha.	Me-no-ka.	P-tā-me-ha.	Me-no-ka.
Mā-ka.	Mee-ā-ka.	Ma-ta-roo.	Mat-so-gā.	Mat-so-ga.	Mat-ta-we-ā.	Mā-roo.	Ma-tā-ka-zha.	Ma-tā-ka-zha.
Nak-me-ā.	Meek-a.	Bā-zā-na.	Bā-chu-ka.	Ba-chu-ka.	Ba-za-kat.	Bus-we-nā.	Bā-sā-chete.	Bā-so-ka.
Suh-suh-take.	Um-un-ni.	A-nak-fi.	Suh-nāk-fish.	A-nak-fi.	An-take.	Um-un-ni.	An-take.	Suh-nāk-fish.
Su-soh-take.	Au-tik-ba.	A-nāk-fi.	Sa-nāk-fish.	A-nak-fi.	An-take.	An-tik-ba.	An-take.	Sā-nāk-fish.
Chus-hus-te (m.sp.) Chuch-hus-wā (f.sp.)	Chu-hlā-ha.	Chu-chihl-wa.	Chu-chu-se.	Chu-chihl-wā.	Chu-wun-wā.	Chu-hlā-ha.	Chu-wun-wa.	Chu-chu-se.
A-gwae-tsi.	Un-gi-ni-li.	Un-gi-dau.	Un-gi-nun-tli.	Un-gi-dau.	Un-gi-dau.	Un-gi-lun-i.	Un-gi-dau.	Un-gi-lun-i.
At-gwa-tze.	An-ke-nee-li.	An-ke-doh.	An-ke-na-tsi.	An-ke-do.	An-ke-doh.	An-ge-ta-ih.	An-ke-doh.	An-ge-lā-it.
Perow.	A-da-de.	Ta-la-lik-tis.	A-dá-de.	Ka-we-ta.	A-tā-he.	A-ta-he.	A-tā-ke.	A-tā-he.
Perow.	Che-na-tun.	A-tnas.	Ka-wit-ta.	Kā-wit-ta.	Ah-te-ta.	Ah-te-ta.	Ah-te-ta.	Ah-te-ta.

vowels "a" as a in ale, "ā" as a in art, "ee" as e in even, "oo" as u, &c.

CONCRETE

SPECIMENS OF THE

Language.	My Father.	My Mother.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.	My Son.
						AMERICAN
Salish Stem. Spokane(2)	En-le-a-u (m.sp.) En-ne-mes-tum (f.sp.)	E-sko-i (m.sp.) En-tome(f.sp.)	....	....	....	Is-kwoos-sa.
Salish Stem. Okinakan(2)	In-mees-tum.	In-toom.	....	....	....	Ese-koo-see.
Arctic Family. Eskimo Nations. Eskimo(2) (Greenland)	A-tä-ta-ga (Aug-u-ti-ga)	An-a-na-ga (Ar-na-ra).	....	....	....	Er-ne-ra.
Arctic Family. Eskimo Nations. Eskimo(2) (Northumland Inlet).	Ah-ta-ta (Aug-o-ta).	Ah-na-na.	....	....	....	En-ning-ah.

Language.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.	Son.
						POLYNESIAN
Hawaian(2)	Makua-käna.	Makua-wahee-na	Kaikee, Kama.	Kaikee-käna.	Kaikee-wahee-na.	Kaikee-käna, Kama-käna.
Tahitian(3)	Medua-tane.	Medua-vahina.	Hunoa.	Ta ma ro a.	Po ti i.	Hu no a tane.
Tongan(2)	Ta-mai.	Fae.	....	....	....	Foha.
Fijian(4)	Tama-na.	Tina-na.	Gone, Luve-na.	Gone-tagane.	Gone alewa.	Luve na ta gane.
Maori of New Zealand(2) ..	Pa-pa.	Wa-e-a.	....	....	....	Tama.
Kusaian(2)	Pa-pa-tum.	Ne-ne-key.	....	....	....	Mwen-nut.
Kings-Mill(2)	Tama.(6)	Tinäu.	....	....	....	Natu-te-mane.

Language.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.
				BASQUE
Guipuzcoan(7)	Aita.	Ama.	Haur, Ninia.	Mutil.
Biscaien	Aita.	Ama.	Aur, Sein.	Muthil.
Labourdin	Aita.	Ama.	Sein, Ninia, Nerhabe.	Mutil.
Bas-Navarrais	Aita.	Ama.	Aur, Ninia.	....

(2) Systems of Consanguinity, by Lewis H. Morgan. (3) A Grammar of the Tahitian dialect, Tahiti, 1823. (4) Hazlewood. (5) Ga-ne-na in J. van Eys. (8) Arreba and Aizpa must be regarded as relics of the Concrete character of the Basque languages, which, owing to their peculiar their original tongue and type in their terms of kinship. There is a strange resemblance between the Basque *Alaba* and the Fijian *Alewa*, daughter.

LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).

Ca[1] CLASS—(*Continued*).

My Daughter.	Male speaking, my elder Brother.	Female speaking, my elder Brother.	Male speaking, my younger Brother.	Female speaking, my younger Brother.	Male speaking, my elder Sister.	Female speaking, my elder Sister.	Male speaking, my younger Sister.	Female speaking, my younger Sister.
LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).								
Is-tum-che-alt (Is-shoo-te-malt).	En-kats-tch.	En'l-kahk-tsā.	Is-sin-sā.	Is-sis-sin-sā.	En'l-chit-shā.	En'l-chit-shā.	En'l-tsits-a-opes.	En'l-istsa-opes.
Ese-tum-ke-ilt	Eel-kāk-chā.	Ell-kāk-chā.	Eel-se-sin-cha.	Eel-see-sin-cha.	Eel-ke-kā.	Eel-ke-kā.	Eel-che-choops.	Eel-che-choops.
Pan-ni-ga.	An-ga-ju-ga.	An-i-ga.	Nu-ka-ra.	Ar-ka-lu-a-ra.	A-le-ka-ra.	An-ga-ju-ga.	Na-ju-ga.	Na-ka-ra.
Pun-ning-ah.	Ang-a-yu-ā.	An-ning-ā.	Nu-kā.	Nu-kā.	Na-ya.	Ang-a-yu-ā.	Na-ya.	Nu-kā-ha.

Daughter.	Male speak., elder Brother.	Female speak., elder Brother.	Male speak., younger Brother.	Female speak., younger Brother.	Male speak., elder Sister.	Female speak., elder Sister.	Male speak., younger Sister.	Female speak., younger Sister.
LANGUAGES.								
Kaikee-waheena.	Kai-ku-ā-ā-nā.	Kai-ku-na-na.	Kai-kai-na.	Kai-ku-nāna.	Kaiku-waheena.	Kai-ku-ā a-na.	Kaiku-waheena.	Kai-kai-na.
Hu no a vahina.	Tu a ne, (brother of a sister.)	....	....	....	Tua hine (sister of a brother.)	....	....	....
Ofe-fine.	Tao ke te.(5)	Tuo ga a ni.	Tehina.	Tuo ga a ni.	Tao kete or Tuo-fe-fine.	Taokete.	Tuo fe fine.	Tehina.
Luve alewa.	Tua-kana.	Ngā-na.(2)	Tacina(4) (Tathina.(2)	Nga-na.(2)	Nga-na.(2)	Tuakana.(2)	Ngana.(2)	Ta thi na.(2) Tacina.(4)
Tama hine.	Tua-ka-na.	Tun gone.	Te-i-na.	Tunga ne teina	Tu-a-hine.	Tuakana.	Tua hine teina	Teina.
Au-nut.	Lek-lass,Matu.	Lek-lass,Mātu.	Lik-srik, F-wos	Lik-srik, F-wos	Louk-lass, Matu.	Louk-lass, Mātu.	Louk-srik.	Louk-srik.
Natu-te-aine.	Tarū-te-karimoā.	Manu te karimoā.	Taru-te kārimwi.	Taru-te-karim-wi.	Manu-te-karimoā.	Taru-te-karimoā.	Manu-te-karimwi.	Taru te karimwi.

Girl.	Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Sister of a Brother.	Sister of a Sister.
LANGUAGES.					
Neska, Neskacha.	Seme.	Alaba.	Anai.	Arreba.(8)	Aizpa.(8)
Neskato.	Seme.	Alaba.	Anai, Nebia.	Arreba.	Aizta.
Neska.	Seme.	Alaba.	Anaye.	Arreba.	Ahizpa.
Neskato.	Seme.	Alaba.	Anaye.	Arreba.	....

Fijian is a sister's brother and a brother's sister. (6) Suffix "u" signifies "my," *e.g.* Natu, my child. (7) *See* Dictionnaire Basque Français par W. position between various nations, situated as they are on the much-trodden high road between France and Spain, preserved very little of

CONCRETE

SPECIMENS OF

Language.		Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.	Son.
AMERICAN							
Algonkin(10) Family.	Cree (Prairie) (9)	Noh-ta-we.	N-ga-we.	....	....	....	Ngo sis.
	Ojibwa (Lake Superior)	Noss.	Nin-gah.	....	....	....	Nin-gwiss.
	Otawa	Noss.	N-gus sheh.	....	....	....	N'gwis.
	Shiyan	Na-o-a.	Na-ko.	....	....	....	Na.
	Etchemin	Nu me tonks.	Nee goos.	....	....	....	N'koos.
	Mohegan	Noh.	N'guk.	....	....	....	N'diome.
	Delaware	Noh'h.	N ga-hase.	....	....	....	N'kweese.
	Munsee	Na nouh.	Nain guk.	....	....	....	Nain gwase.

SPECIMENS OF

Language.		Grandfather.	Grandmother.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.
MALAYAN							
Malayan(11)		Nenek laki laki.	Nenek perampuam.	Bapa, Pa, Ayah.	Ama, Ma, Indu, Indung.	Anak.	Anak laki laki.
Sunda Language(13)		Aki, Embah.	Embah, Nini.	Bapa Papa, Pa, Ama.	Ama, Ma, Ibi, Indung.	Anak.	....
Nicobar(14) Dialects.	Dialect of Nancowry	Tjom konji.	Tjom nkāna.	Tjia.	Tjia enkana.	Kanjom, Kontje.	Kanjom.
	,, of Teresa by Mount Plaisant.	Hadija.	Hahnhaat.	Jaet.	Jaeie.	Khuan, Khinione.	Khiniong, Nkonje.
AFRICAN							
North-West Atlantic Languages.	Bola	Atemu.	Atemu nyădz.	Papa.	Ni.	....	Nafan.
	Pepel	Atem.	Atem.	Papa, Ahli.	Nana, Ani.	....	Limpos (nimpos).
	Biafade	Mama.	Mama.	Baba.	Na.	....	Nimbawani.
	Padsade	Mama.	Mama.	Ape.	Nna.	....	Nise.
	Baga	Tanun.	Mama.	Bapa.	Mana.	....	Bafet.

(9) Systems of Consanguinity, by Lewis H. Morgan. (10) In these specimens before us no difference is noted between the male and female
(11) See Dictionary of the Malay Language, by John Crawford. (12) This word is of Sanskrit origin. (13) A Dictionary of the Sunda Language
brother or sister of our wife. (14) Vocabulary of Dialects spoken in the Nicobar and Andaman Isles, by F. A. de Rœpstorff. (15) Polyglotta

LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).

THE $C\alpha^2$ CLASS.

Daughter.	Male speaking, elder Brother.	Female speak., elder Brother.	Male speak., younger Brother.	Female speak., younger Brother.	Male speak., elder Sister.	Female speak., elder Sister.	Male speak., younger Sister.	Female speak., younger Sister.
LANGUAGES.								
N'dānis.	Neese tase.		Ne se-me.		Ne miss.		Ne se me.	
Nin-da-niss.	Nis-sā-ye.		Ni-shi-me.		Ne mis se.		Ni shi me.	
N'dā-niss.	N'sā-ya.		N'-she-ma.		N'mis sa.		N she me.	
Na-tun.	Nā ne a.		Na-sim-a.		Na-ma.		Na sim a.	
N'toos.	N'hay sees.		Noo see mees.		Nu mu sees.		Noo see miss.	
Ne-chune.	N'tā-kun.		N hi sum.		Nā mees.		N'hi sum.	
N'dā nuss.	Nah-hans.		Nah cese u-miss.		Na-mese.		Nah esse u 8 iss.	
Nain dā ness.	Nain-n' hans.		Nain hise sa-mus.		Nain na wase.		Nain hise sa mus.	

THE $C\beta^1$ CLASS.

Girl.	Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Elder Brother.	Younger Brother.	Sister.	Elder Sister.	Younger Sister.
LANGUAGES.								
Anak perampuam.	Anak laki laki.	Anak perampuam.	Sudarā (12)laki laki.	Kaka, Kakak (*Abang*, eldest).	Adik, (*Bongsu*, youngest.)	Sudarā(21) Perampuam.	Kakak (*Abang*).	Adik (*Bongsu*).
....	....	....	Dulur, Suderek.(12)	Kaka, Kakang (Raka).	Adi.	Dulur, Suderek.	(Kaka) Acheük (refined).	Adi.
Kanjom enkana, Holeajing.	Konje.	Kon enkana.	....	Tjau.	Tau.	....	Tjau enkana.	Tau enkana.
....	Khoin.	Nkenkjekuan.	(Eo Nang).	....	....	....	....	....
LANGUAGES. (15)								
Nampali.	Abuk.	Abuk enyadz.	....	Tsemago.	Atsaol.	....	Tsemagonyadz.	Atsaonyadz.
Limpile, Nimpile.	Abok.	Abok inyas.	....	Asimaka.	Adza.	....	Asimakanyas.	Adza nimpuli.
Ninda.	Numbi.	Numpula.	....	Nkodo, Maide.	Ninda.	....	Nkodo, Maide.	Ninda.
Wondsae.	Numbe.	Numbe.	....	Udsase.	Upeare.	....	Udsase udsafe.	Upeare udsafe.
Bafetirani.	Woan.	Woan irani.	....	Woantsibaki.	Woantsifet.	....	Woantsiranibaki.	Woantsiranifet

speaking, but such a distinction actually still exists in the Algonquin language, as we are informed by Dr. Schoolcraft, l.c., Vol. II, p. 385.
of Java, by Jonathan Rigg. In the Sunda language *Adi Daheuan* denotes an elder brother or sister of our wife, and *Adi Beuteung* a younger
Africana, by the Rev. S. W. Koelle.

CONCRETE

SPECIMENS OF THE

Group	Language.	Grandfather.	Grandmother.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.
							AFRICAN
North-West Atlantic Languages—(*Contd.*)	Timne	Kasbom.	Karabom.	Kas, Pa.	Kara.	....	Waheturuni.
	Bulom	Yom.	Lam.	Pua.	Ya.	....	Tsamo.
	Mampa	Baom.	Teta.	Bam.	Yem.	....	Tramode.
	Kisi	Puba.	Mama.	Fonfa, Fa.	Ndua.	....	Dsua piando.
West Atlantic Languages.	Wolof	Mam.	Mam.	Bai.	Ndei.	....	Gune, Kailel.
	Nalu	Mamkere.	Mama.	Baba, Ba.	Nya.	....	Melafu.
	Bulanda	Mama.	Mama.	Fare, Baba.	Ni.	....	Mbi, Udokti.
	Limbu	Sogo.	Monda.	Papa.	Na.	....	Fatie.
	Landoma	Otem.	Mama.	Papa.	Mama.	....	Wanfet.
High Sudan Languages.	Mandengo	Bemba.	Mama.	Fa, Fama.	Na, Ba, Bamo.(16)	Dingo. (16)	Bela Kuro, Ke ding.
	Kabunga	Mama.	Mama muso.	Fa.	Na.	....	Dindino.
	Toronka	Bemba.	Mama.	Fa.	Na.	....	Bia koine.
	Dsalunka	Bemba.	Mama, Ma.	Fa.	Na.	....	Denden, Bela-kuru.
	Kankanka	Bemba.	Ma.	Fa.	Na.	....	Bilakuru.
	Bambara	Mbemba.	Mma.	Fa.	Ba.	....	Demse, Dengene.
	Kono	Fa tafa.	Mama.	Fa.	Nde.	....	Don dom.
	Vei	Mamada.	Mama.	Fa.	Ba.	....	Denkaima.
	Soso, *a* Solima	Tanie.	Mame.	Fafe.	Nga.	....	Kamedi.
	,, *b* Kisekise	Bemba.	Mama.	Fafe.	Nga.	....	Hamedi.
	Mende	Kenya.	Mama.	Ke.	Nge.	....	Hinlopo, Ndopuro.
	Asante	....	Nana.	Agia.	Ena.	....	Abofura.
Upper Guinea Languages.	Dewoi	Tuo.	Kuo.	Ba.	Ma.	....	Gawu.
	Basa	Tuo.	Da.	Ba.	Ne.	....	Gadyu, Gadsu.
	Anfue	Togbi.	Mama.	Tata.	No, Eno.	....	Nutsufi, Adefi.
	Hwida	Tagwe.	Mama.	Oda, Toe.	Anoe.	....	Yagbo.
	Dahome	Togbo.	Nonoe.	Da, Toe.	Noe.	....	Yagbowu.
	Aku, Ota	Babaila.	Iyaila.	Baba.	Iya.	....	Omokekere.
	,, Egba	Babala.	Yeyela.	Baba.	Yeye, Iya.	....	Onokuri.

(16) Die Mande-Neger

LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).

$C\beta^1$ CLASS—(*Continued*).

Girl.	Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Elder Brother.	Younger Brother.	Sister.	Elder Sister.	Younger Sister.
LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).								
Wahetbera.	Woan runi.	Woanbera.	....	Woantubaki.	Woantufet.	....	Woantuberanbaki.	Woantuberafet.
Woantatse.	Tsamotse.	Woantatse.	....	Pontseben.	Pentsepomo.	....	Woantse oben.	Woantse opomo.
Woandale.	Tramole.	Woale.	....	Pentre mbende.	Pentre mpumole.	....	Woantre mbende.	Woantre mpumole.
Dsua lando.	Dsuando.	Dsuani londo.	....	Bendo.	Pombo.	....	Yimane bendo.	Yimane pombo.
Ndaosi, Kailel bodsigen.	Dom.	Domdso dsigen.	....	Mag.	Rak.	....	Makdsodsigen.	Rak dsodsigen.
Melagami lamfai.	Mela.	Melangamilamfai.	....	Nwoke.	Mfon.	....	Nwoke ngamilamfai.	Mfon gamilamfai.
Ofula.	Mbi wolande.	Ofula.	....	Werge.	Bite.	....	Werge.	Bite.
Fatie oyereme.	Fati wowate.	Fati Woyereme.	....	Wewotante.	Wewogete.	....	Wewogereme wotante.	Wewogereme wotante.
Wontsai.	Wan.	Wao Orani.	....	Obagi.	Ofet.	....	Obagi orani.	Ofet orani.
Dem muso, Ding muso.	Dem.	Dem muso.	Badinke. (16)	Kodo.	Doro.	Badinmuso. (16)	Koto muso.	Doro muso.
Sunkudundino.	Deno.	Dem muso.	....	Koto.	Do.	....	Koto muso.	Do muso.
Dsem musunye.	Dsenke.	Ndsem muso.	....	Koyo.	Doro.	....	Koyo muso.	Doro muso.
Dem musu.	Den.	Dem muso.	....	Kodo.	Doro.	....	Kodo muso.	Doro muso.
Sungudun.	Dembilakuru.	Dem muso.	....	Kodo.	Doro.	....	Kodo muso.	Doro muso.
Dem musone.	Denge.	Dem muso.	....	Koro, Ngoro.	Doro.	....	Nkora muso.	Ndoro muso.
Dem musulin.	Dene.	Dem musuline	....	Koro kaima.	Doe.	....	Koro Musuma.	Do musuma.
Dem musuma.	Den.	Dem musuma.	....	Nyomo kerema.	Nyomo doma.	....	Ngomo musuma kerema.	Nyomo musuma domo.
Sungutundi.	Dirame.	Digile.	....	Tada fori.	Goṇyai.	....	Tuda nyarale.	Gonyai nyarale
Sungutunyi.	Diyore.	Digine.	....	Tara.	Gunyai.	....	Tara gine.	Gunya gine.
Nyaha lopo.	Lohindo, Tadohindo.	Ndonyalu.	....	Ndewa.	Ndewuro.	....	Ndenyaro.	Ndenyawuru.
Oboya, Abaoya.	Eba.	Baoya.	....	Nua panini.	Nuakuma.	....	Nua baoya panini.	Nua baoya kuma.
Nyirowu.	Wu.	Wu yiro.	....	Kuovo.	Kuo tue.	....	Kuyiro vo.	Kuyiro tue.
....	Yu, Dyu.	Madyu.	....	Negafile.	Negadsue.	....	Neno file.	Nema dsu.
Lonufi.	Efi.	Lonufi.	....	Novi, Fofo.	Nofiedefie.	....	Nofi, Noefi.	Nofie defie.
Nyonifi.	Ofi.	Nyonifi.	....	Anoefi daho.	Anoefi gbe.	....	Anoefi daho.	Anoefi gbe.
Diofi.	Fisunu.	Fiyonu.	....	Nowie daho.	Nowie gbe.	....	Nowie nyonu daho.	Nowie nyonugbe.
Eburo.	Omo.	Omo biri.	....	Egmo.	Eburo.	....	Egmo obiri.	Eburo obiri.
Omo Biri, Tuta.	Omo Kuri.	Omo biri.	....	Egma, Egbo.	Aburo akuri, Ebile ykauri.	....	Egmo obiri.	Ebile, Aboro obiri.

Sprachen von Dr. H. Steinthal.

CONCRETE

SPECIMENS OF THE

Group	Language.	Grandfather.	Grandmother.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.
							AFRICAN
Upper Guinea Languages (*Continued*).	Aku, Idsesa	Baballa.	Iyalla.	Baba.	Iya.	....	Madei.
	,, Yoruba	Babababa.	Eya-eya.	Baba.	Iya, Eya.	Ommo. (17)	Oma kure, Omme konri. (17)
	,, Yagba	Babagba.	Iyela.	Baba.	Iye.	....	Omode, Omodekure.
	,, Eki	Babala.	Iyela.	Baba.	Iye.	....	Okudsa, Omo.
	,, Dsumu	Babaila.	Iyela.	Baba.	Iye.	....	Oma kuri, Omadekuri.
	Dsebu	Baballa.	Iyalla.	Baba.	Iye.	....	Modei, Amodei.
	Ife	Babarea.	Yeyerea.	Baba.	Yeye.	....	Omakuri.
	Dsekiri	Osole.	Yeketa.	Owa.	Iye.	....	Omirewe, Omirokere.
	Igala	Orata.	Ebiorela, Ebiore, Iyore.	Ata.	Iye.	....	Omonokere.
Niger Delta Languages.	Sobo	Wawa.	Nene (?).	Wawa.	Nene.	....	Omosale.
	Egbele	Etamudide.	Iyomudide.	Eta.	Iyo.	....	Ogomo.
	Bini	Itanokoa.	Iyenokoa.	Ita.	Iye.	....	Omokomogwe, Owokana.
	Yala	Adoku.	Okuku.	Ada.	Ene.	....	Ope.
Niger Dshadda Languages.	Nupe	Ndako.	Nnako.	Nda.	Nna.	....	Tsakandsi.
	Kupa	Ndakodsi.	Mokodsi.	Dada.	Mo.	....	Efusu.
	Esitako	Egbuko.	Tsuma.	Da.	Na.	....	Usamitsekami
	Basa	Ndako.	Nnoko.	Ba, Nda.	Nno.	....	Tsakamdsi.
Central African Languages.	Buduma	Mboahagoei.	Mboahagoei.	Bawa.	Ya.	....	Yigenai.
	Bornu Kanuri	Kagakoanga.	Kagakasigana.	Aba.	Ya.	....	Tata kengali.
	,, Munio	Kara.	Kara.	Bawa.	Ya.	....	Tata kangoa.
	,, Nguru	Kara.	Kara.	Bawa.	Iya.	....	Tata kangoa.
	,, Kanem	Kara.	Karakamu.	Mba.	Iya.	....	Nguli.
	Pika	Kada, Disi.	Dia, Disi.	Bo.	No.	....	Lao dole.
	Doai	Kaka.	Kaka.	Baba.	Aye, Omei.	....	Wuan.
	Kandin	Kaka.	Kaka.	Rabani.	Ina.	....	Barar.
	Tumbuktu	Kagahar.	Kagawoi.	Baba.	Nya.	....	Har kaina.
	Goburu	Mamadebo.	Mama.	Baba.	Inna.	....	Dsukael.
	Kano	Mama.	Mama.	Baba.	Ina.	....	Suka.
South African Languages.	Ekamtulufu	Nkikulanta.	Nkikulanna.	Nta.	Nna.	....	Manseonum.
	Udom	Ntandsafulonta.	Nnandsa fulonna	Nta.	Nna.	....	Monse.
	Mbofon	....	....	Nta.	Nna.	....	Monse.
	Eafen	Itemise.	Itemunyen.	Ise.	Inyen.	....	Monindun.

(17) A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Yoruba

LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).

$C\beta^1$ CLASS—(*Continued*).

Girl.	Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Elder Brother.	Younger Brother.	Sister.	Elder Sister.	Younger Sister.
LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).								
Madia.	Oma.	Omabere.	....	Egma.	Aburo.	....	Egmaobiri.	Aburo obiri.
Oma bere, Ommo Binri.(17)	Omakuri.	Omabere.	....	Egbo. Egmo, Egma okuri.	Aburo, Aburo okuri.	....	Egmo bere, Egmo obiri.	Aburo bere.
Omo de bire, Omobure.	Omokure, Alemokure.	Omobire, Alemobure.	....	Egba, Egmo okure.	Aburo mokure.	....	Egba obire.	Aburo obire.
Amode, Amobiri.	Obimo, Omo.	Omobere.	....	Egbo.	Aburo.	....	Egbo.	Aburo.
Oma debili.	Alemo.	Alemobili.	....	Egmo.	Aburo.	....	Egmo.	Aburobili.
Udo, Udoyi.	Omo.	Omobiri.	....	Egbo.	Aburo.	....	Egbo mobili.	Aburoomobiri.
Omabiri.	Omakuri.	Omabiri.	....	Egba.	Aburo.	....	Egma obiri.	Aburo obiri.
Omebire.	Oto.	Omobire.	....	Egure.	Egure tie.	....	Egure.	Egure tie.
Omonobire.	Omonokere.	Omonobire.	....	Omogwaye.	Abine.	....	Omogwaye.	Abine.
Omote.	Ohuara.	Omoro.	....	Omogbako.	Omoni.	....	Omorogbako.	Omo tete.
Omose.	Owi.	Owimogbutsu.	....	Emio nogwai.	Emio kete.	....	Emio nogwai.	Emio kete.
Owo kunwi.	Omolokaro.	Omo lokaro.	....	Ote nokoa.	Ote nekete.	....	Ote nokoa.	Ote nekete.
Ononya.	Oi.	Ononya.	Oni.(17)	Onyakuru.	One dsise.	....	Onyakuru.	Onedsidse.
Nyantsuri.	Egi.	Egi isagi.	....	Yaya.	Goasuma.	....	Yaya.	Goasuma.
Enyafe busu.	Edagmo.	Ramo.	....	Efi bulodsi.	Efi Kadsi.	....	Efiafi bulodsi.	Ediafikadsi.
Nsadsi tsekami	Etsi.	Etsi kamitsi.	....	Yaya.	Araboko.	....	Yaya.	Araboko.
Ntsugi, Tsakamdsinsagi.	Edsi.	Edsi nsagi.	....	Nugudsi.	Wogi.	....	Nugudsinsagi.	Wogi.
Degeram.	Uhiou.	Dirau.	....	Yaka.	Kate.	....	Yara nsagi.	Katera.
Pero.	Tata kengali.	Pero.	....	Yaya.	Kerami.	....	Yaya kasigana	Keramikasigana.
Pero.	Tata kangoa.	Pero.	....	Yaya.	Kana.	....	Yaya pero.	Kana pero.
Pero.	Tata kangoa.	Pero.	....	Yaya.	Kana.	....	Yaya pero.	Kana pero.
Pero.	Digokoa.	Digo kamu.	....	Yaya.	Kate.	....	Yaya kamu.	Katekamu.
Lao gunyo.	Be.	Ba.	....	Ba.	Mol.	....	Ba.	Mol.
Wunya, Wunya abslei.	Wune, gemse.	Wunyatkane.	....	Wuangaye.	Gadsi gaye.	....	Wunye gaye.	Gadsi.
Tabarar.	Yalu, ya.	Damfalin.	....	Wa.	Kane.	....	Ya.	Kanua.
Woikaina.	Isa har.	Isa woi.	....	Bera har.	Kaina har.	....	Bera woi.	Kainawoi.
Dsiwo.	Binkel.	Bidebo.	....	Mauna gorko.	Minyiraogorko	....	Mauna debo.	Minyiraodebo.
Suka debo.	Bingel.	Bingeldel.	....	Mouna.	Minya.	....	Mounirao.	Minirao.
Manseonka.	Mo.	Moanka.	....	Mananyonkoro.	Mananyonse.	....	Mana nyonka.	Mananyonse.
Monse manka.	Mo.	Moyonka.	....	Moanna yonkuru.	Monayonse.	....	Moha yomanka.	Mona manka yonse.
Moamanka.	Mo.	Moa manka.	....	Moanna yonkuru.	Moanna yonse.	....	Moanna yonka.	Moanna yonse.
Monike.	Mon.	Monike	....	Monyen enkui.	Monye nyondse	....	Monye nyoniko.	Monyenyonike nyodse.

Language, by the Rev. Samuel Crowther.

CONCRETE

SPECIMENS OF THE

Language.		Grandfather.	Grandmother.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.
							AFRICAN
South African Languages—(*Continued*).	Basa	Kaka.	Kaka.	Ada.	Am.	....	Yawe.
	Kamuku	Budsatogua.	Bougua.	Baba.	Bina.	....	Iwao.
	Dsuku	Yaku.	Yakuneke.	Ata.	Ayo.	....	Anutise.
	Dsarawa	Kara.	Kara.	Tada.	Nga.	....	Mumbit.
	Koro	Odsuo.	Onyua.	Oda.	Ma.	....	Nesu, Opfiavere.
	Ham	Dselkike.	Dselsa.	Kike.	Sa.	....	Wezahak.
	Akurakura	Asaoro.	Odomanogwe.	Nna, Asaro.	Ama, Aka.	....	Wororonorun
	Bute	Taker.	Yaker.	Ta.	Ya.	....	Mutengoapti.
	Ndob	Mbewa.	Mbewa.	Kie, Dsie.	Man.	....	Moandob.
	Mbarike	Itsenitse.	Iyaniya.	Itse.	Iya.	....	Mbaurom.
	Tiwi	Teretamon.	Ngotamon.	Tere.	Ngoam.	....	Woannomso.
	Boritsu	Onyokow.	Enyenokow.	Idsi.	Enyem.	....	Idun, Idunanyi.
Moko Languages.	Bayon	Membumtite.	Membumo.	Taya, Tiya.	Maya.	....	Munkembane.
	Balu	Titangura.	Ninangura.	Tita.	Ninan.	....	Moke.
Kongo-Angola Languages.	Kabenda	Kaka.	Kaka mandsento.	Tata.	Mama.	....	Moani leze.
	Mimboma	Nkaka.	Nkaka mama.	Tata.	Mama.	....	Moana ntauz.
	Musentandu	Kaka.	Nengua.	Tata.	Mama.	....	Moana.
	Mutsaya	Kaka.	Kata.	Tata.	Mama.	....	Moana lebalaka.
	Kasands	Kugu.	Kugu.	Tada.	Mama.	....	Moana.
	Nyombe	Kakande.	Yaya.	Tata.	Mama.	....	Moana.
	Pangela	Kobuolu.	Koku.	Tata.	Mai.	....	Omora wulume
	Lubalo	....	Seresi.	Pai.	Mai, Mayi.	....	Moana.
	Songo	Kuku.	Kukuyamhetu.	Papa.	Mama.	....	Kayala.
	Kisama	Kukuetu.	Kukuetu yamuhetu.	Tatetu.	Mametu.	....	Munatu.
South East Language.	Nyamban	Kogwan.	Kogwan.	Tatan.	Maman.	....	Mbolinyan.

LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).

$C\beta^1$ CLASS—(*Continued*).

Girl.	Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Elder Brother.	Younger Brother.	Sister.	Elder Sister.	Younger Sister.
LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).								
Yaweo.	Yau.	Yaweo.	....	Batagu.	Behangu.	....	Batagu.	Behangu.
Ihobuta.	Boo.	Hobuta.	....	Bodsa.	Buyena.	....	Bodsa.	Buyena.
Anubauwa.	Anonu, Anu aunu.	Anowa, Anu auwa.	....	Anuzawadsuo.	Anuzawatize.	....	Anuza wadsuo.	Anuza wati.
Mungalap.	Munbit.	Munmangalap.	....	Yam madsin.	Yam magad.	....	Yam madsin mangalap.	Yam madsin mangalap.
Bie ira	Obsavere.	Obseira.	....	Inyegbo.	Okonyu.	....	Inyegbo-ira.	Okonyu ira.
Sawietusasi.	We, Marwe.	....	....	Wedasokpo.	Weweda seiwe.	....	Tilda sakpo.	Wetilda seiwe.
Wororonogua.	Ogban.	Wororonogua.	....	Wuaka.	Wuakagerek.	....	Wuaka wuonogua.	Wuakagere wuonogua.
Mutengoapti.	Muimo.	Muti.	....	Teker.	Wuimo.	....	Meker.	Wuimo.
Moayip.	Moan.	Moanyip.	....	Ngini.	Nginiso.	....	Nginimlep.	Nginimlem neso.
Mba onda.	Mba urom.	Mba onda.	....	Inyam tondufu.	Inyam tegetenyin.	....	Ondiyamtondufu.	Ondiyam tegetenyin.
Woan kuas.	Woan nomso.	Woan koase.	....	Woan woas.	Woan woas ekeriki.	....	Woan woas ekoas.	Woan ekerike koas.
Idunakow.	Idun.	Idun akow.	....	Umakow.	Umaulam.	....	Umakow.	Umaulam.
Munke mengua.	Muana mbane.	Muana mengua.	....	Mfuda ngukot.	Mfuda munke.	....	Mfuda nguket mengua.	Mfuda makemengua.
Momengwe.	Moanayimomba.	Moanayimengwe.	....	Fira yingura.	Mbarendsama.	....	Fira yingura.	Mbarendsama.
Moanandsento.	Moanibakala.	Moana ndsento.	....	Kombankulunt.	Kombeleze.	....	Komba ndsent.	Komba ndsenteleze.
Moana nkento	Moana.	Moana nkento.	....	Kuruntu.	Mbundsi.	....	Kuruntu ankento.	Pangiankento.
Ndumba.	Moana.	Moana nkento.	....	Mbuta.	Pangi.	....	Mbutuankento.	Pangiankento.
Moana mukeat.	Moan lebalaka.	Moan mukeat.	....	Mokot.	Ngebe.	....	Mokot mukeat.	Ngebe mukeat.
Moana muketu.	Moana.	Moana muketu.	....	Kota.	Pandsi.	....	Kota lamuketu.	Pandsi muketu.
Moana ndomba.	Moana.	Moana nketo.	....	Nkulutu.	Pantsi, Komba.	....	Nkulutunketo.	Pantsi nketo.
Omora wukai.	Omora wulume.	Omora wukai.	....	Mandse.	Neneye.	....	Mandse yokai.	Neneye yokai.
Moana muhetu.	Moana.	Moanamuhetu.	....	Kota.	Pangian denge.	....	Kota muhetu.	Pangian denge muhetu.
Kahetu.	Moana wadiara	Moanamhet.	....	Kotadiet.	Panget.	....	Kota diamhet.	Pangediamhet
Muna muhatu	Moana muadiala.	Moanamuamuhetu.	....	Kotaretu.	Ndengetu.	....	Kotaretu diamuhetu.	Ndengetu diamuhetu.
Insatana.	Moana.	Insatana.	....	Nkoma.	Nande.	....	Nkoma wansatana.	Nande wansatana.

CONCRETE

SPECIMENS OF THE

Language.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.
					ASIATIC
					Cor
Corean (18)	Api.	Omi.	Atur, Ahai.	Atur.	Kjotsip.
					FURTHER-INDIAN
Cochin Chinese(19)	Cha.	Mau, Me.	Con.	....	....
Shan of Burmah(20)	Pau.	Me.	Luk.	Luk sai.	Luk ying.
Ahom(20)	Pa.	Me.	Lok.	Luk.	Luk ning.
Aiton(20)	Ponu.	Meu.	Luk lang.	....	....
Thai of Siam(21)	Pha.	Me.	....	....	....
Burmese	Apa.	A ma.	Ka ley.(22)	Lu ka lay.(22)	Men ka ley.(22)
Tongtu(20)	Pha.	Mu.	Loe pai.	Loe pai.	Loe mu pai.
Talain(20)	Ma.	Me, Yai.	Knone.	Kone troo.	Kone praou.
Karen(23), (24) Sgau	Pa.	Mo.	Pho, Photha.(24)	Photha khwa.	Photha mu.
,, Pwo	Pa, Pah.	Mo.	Po, Pho-tha.	Pokhwa, Photha khwa.	Po mu, Photha mu.
,, Bghai(24)	Pa, Ta.	Meu.	Pie saypeu.	Pheuthaykheu.	Piesay pheu pheu mu.
					LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE KHASI AND
Khasi(20)	Kypa, U kypa.	Kymei, Nakaymei.	Khynnah.	U khynnah.(25)	Ka-khyn-nah.
Synteng(20)	Pa.	Bei.	Khontlung.	....	....
Battoa dialect(20)	Ŭ pŭa.	Ka ba.	Ŭ khonbo.	....	....
Amwee ,, (20)	Ŭ pă.	Kă ma.	Ŭ humbo.	....	....
Lakadong ,, (20)	U pă.	Ka moi.	Ŭ humbo.	....	....
Kuki (20)	Pa, Hepa.(26)	Noo, Henu.(26)	....	Ipathey Chapang.(26)	Nupang they(26), Numi.(26)
,, of Tipperah(20)	Pa.	Nuh.	Nau, Nai.	Chapangnee.	....
,, of Kachar(20)	Napa.	Nanu.	Cha pa.	Chapangpa.	....
Hallami of Tipperah(20)	Kapa.	Ka nŭh.	Nai pang.	....	....

(18) Vocabularium Sinense in Koraianum conversum ...... redditum curante Ph. Fr. de Siebold, Lugduni, Batavorum, 1838. (19) *See* Tribes of Bengal, the Central Provinces, and the Eastern Frontier, Calcutta, 1874. The plan of this book is excellent, but as much cannot be said (21) A Grammar of the Thai or Siamese Language, by Captain James Low, Calcutta, 1828, pp. 26-27. (22) English and Burman Vocabulary, by pp. 642 ff. (25) Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, by Colonel E. T. Dalton, Calcutta, 1872. (26) Bengal Asiatic Journal of 1873.

LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).

Cβ[1] CLASS—(*Continued*).

Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Elder Brother.	Younger Brother.	Sister.	Elder Sister.	Younger Sister.
LANGUAGES.							
ean.							
....	....	....	Mas, Mat.	Aa, Ao.	....	Mas (mat) muwi.	Aa muwi.
LANGUAGES.							
Con blai.	Con gai.	....	Anh.	Em.	....	A (Anh ?).	Em.
Luk sai.	Luk ying.	....	Pi sai.	Nang sai.	....	Pi ying.	Nang ying.
Luk chai.	Luk ning.	(Nang.)	....	....	(Nang ning).	....	....
Luk chai.	Luk chau.	(Pilang ?)	....	....	(Nang chau).	....	....
But chai.	But ying.	....	Phi chai.	Nang chai.	....	Phi ying.	Nang ying.
Thaḥ.	Thah mee.	....	E ko.	Nyee.	....	E ma.	Nyee ma.
Poe.	Poe mu.	....	Wai kho.	Pu.	....	Wai mu.	Pu mu.
Kone troo.	Kone praou.	....	Kou.	Ta.	....	Boä.	Ta praou.
Pho khwa.	Pho mu.	....	Wai khwa.	Pu khwa.	....	Wai mu.	Pu mu.
Po khwa, Pho khwa.	Po mu, Pho mu.	....	Wai po khwa.	Pupo khwa.	....	Wai po mu.	Pu po mu.
			Weh pau khwa.	Pupau khwa.		Weh pau mu.	Pu pau mu.
Pheu kheu.	Pheu mu.	....	....	....	....	(Way mu).	(Pu mu).
JYNTEAH HILLS, IN KACHAR, TIPPERAH, AND MANIPUR, &c.							
U Khun, Khun shinrang.	Ka khun, Khun kynthei.	U para, Para shinrang.	U hynmen.	U hynbew.	Kapara, Para kynthei.	Ka hynmen.	Ka hynbew.
Khon shinrang.	Khon kynthei.	Para shinrang.	....	....	Para kynthai.	....	....
U-huon.	Ka khyn-kyntha.	U pā in.	....	....	Ka pa in.	....	....
U-hun.	Ka-hun-yntha.	U pa ro.	....	....	Ka pa ro.	....	....
U-hun.	Ka-hun-ynthai.	U laih.	....	....	Ka laih.	....	....
Ipathey, Pashul.[25] Nachapa.[26]	Nupangthey, Pashulnoo.[25] Chanung.[26]	Nao.[25]	Ke oo, Ka upa.[26]	Kinaiboong, Kana u pa.	(Kifarnoo). Nao noo.[25] Kanomi.[26]	....	....
Naipā.	Nai nuh pang.	Ŭ nāo.	Ŭ pā.	Naibung, Kichang.	(Farnuh)	U-nūh.	Far nūh.
Chā pā.	Chā nu.	U.	....	....	A.	....	....
Ka nai.	Kachānūh.	Kichang pa.	Ka-ūpā.	Amilai, Korphem.	(Farnuh).	Ka ū-nūh.	Ka nai nuh.

Vocabulary of the Cochin Chinese Language, by the Rev. Joseph Morrone. (20) Specimens of Languages of India, including those of the Aboriginal of its execution. It is full of mistakes, and must be consulted with caution; nevertheless it contains a great amount of very useful information. G. H. Hough, Serampore, 1825. (23) Systems of Consanguinity, by Lewis H. Morgan. (24) Burmah, by Rev. F. Mason, Rangoon, 1860

CONCRETE

SPECIMENS OF THE

Language.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.
					Asiatic
Munipuri[20]	Pa, Ipa.	Ma, Ima.	Macha, Icha.	....	....
Naga of Sibsaugor[20]	Hopa.	Hunu.	Sisi.	....	....
Abhay Purya Naga[20]	Hopa.	Hunu.	Sisi.	Neusa.	(Fabai).
Tablungia Naga[20]	Pah.	Nyuh.	Nahah.	Nahah.	Sikah naha.
Hati Garya Naga[20]	Aba.	Aia.	Techare.	....	....
Dop dorya Naga[20]	Tobo, Oba.	Oja.	Tanuri.	....	....
Deka Himong[20]	Taboo.	Tettehe.	Tettcheer.	....	....
Arung Naga[27]	Apeo.	Apui.	....	....	....
Lepcha[28] of Sikhim	Abo.	Amo.	Akup[20], Ayeng.	....	....
Limbu[20]	Amba, Pa.	Ammah, Amo.[29]	Henja.	Henja.[29]	Menchia.[29]
Bahingya[30] (Kiranti)	Apo.	Amo.	Bebaccha, Ta.	Tawa, Ata waisa bebacha, Tawa-waisa bebacha.	Tami, Ming-cha bebacha.
Tibetan[31]	Pa, Apha,[32] Apo.[20]	Ma, Ama.[32]	Bu[32] Tugu[20].	Bu-pho.[32]	Bu-mo.[32]
Bhutean[32]	Apa, Apu.	Umma.	Tugu, Tubu, Puza.	....	....
,, of Changla[20]	Papa.	Ama.	Kotta.	....	Nimen.
,, of Twang[20]	Apa.	Ama.	Phucha.	Shokpa.	Sho mu.
,, of Lo[20]	Abo.	Annur.	Auga.	Anju.	Niger.
,, of Milchan[32]	Babu.	Umma.	Chung.	....	....
,, of Therburskud[32]	Apa, Kea.	Umma.	Chung.	....	....
Koryaks in Siberia[33]	Pepe.	Memme.	....	....	....
,, near the Kolyma	Enpitsh.	Ella, Ila.	....	....	....
,, on the Karaga Island	Papa, Poapa.	Ella, Ellhi.	....	....	....
,, on the Tigil	Epe.	Aingga.	....	....	....

(20) As before. (27) Bengal Asiatic Journal of 1856, Vol. XXV. (28) Grammar of the Rong (Lepcha) Language, by Col. G. B. Mainwaring, and English, prepared by Alexander Csoma de Körös, Calcutta, 1834. (32) Bengal Asiatic Journal of 1842, Vol. XI. (33) Asia Polyglotta von

LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).

Cβ[1] CLASS—(*Continued*).

Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Elder Brother.	Younger Brother.	Sister.	Elder Sister.	Younger Sister.
LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).							
Cha, Icha nīpa, Nipi macha, Icha.(27)	Icha nūpi, Nupi macha.	Nao(27); Tama Muchimanau.	Iyama, Zamaha (?).	Inas(?) Inao.	....	Ichim, Ichem (?).	Ichal (?).
Hosa.	Sikau hosa.	Honao.	....	....	Sikauhonao.	....	....
Hosa.	Sikou hosa.	Honao.	....	....	Sikouhonao.	....	....
Nitau nahah.	Sikah nahah.	Achhai, Nawh.	....	....	Nawh, Anyah.	....	....
Kechapa.	Kechala.	Tongdati.	....	....	Tanu.	....	....
Toboro jari.	Tesarijari.	Teno, Keno, Uti.	....	....	Teno, Teji.	....	....
Cheer.	Tennu.	Tenoo.	....	....	Tennoo.	....	....
Ana.	Ana pui.	Asi.	....	....	Asi pui.	....	....
Tagri kup.	Thau kup.(20)	....	A-num.	Ayeng Tagri.	....	A nom.	Ayeng tagri.
Asha, Embeccha.	Menchhama.	....	Am, Phoo.	Anooha.	....	Anne.	Noosa.
Tawa.	Tami.	....	Ya wa.	Lo-ba.	....	Yawa.	Lo ba.
Bu-pho.(32)	Bu-mo.(32)	Spuna.(32)	Phu-bo.(32) Ajo, Jo-jo.	Nu-bo.(32)	Spuna.	Ache, Che-zhe.	Nu mo.
Bucha.	Pomo, Pama, Chugu.	....	Azho.	No.	....	Azhee, Tong mo.	Na mo, Sung-mo.
Kotta.	Numi.	Punar (Spuna).	....	....	(Sho-mo).(20)	....	....
Shokpo.	Shuno.	Pun.	....	....	Na mo.	....	(Na-mo).
Ounga.	Nichar.	Peunjar.	....	....	(Bubma).(20)	....	....
Chung.	Cheme.	....	Acho, Ate.	Bya.	....	Apu.	Byach.
Phusli chung.	Esri chung.	....	Acho.	Bya.	....	Sung mo.	Bete.
Laki.	Ngewek.	....	Eninelan.	Ulanggy.	(Tshakyhetsh).	....	....
Yakak.	Nhawakyk.	....	Enineziga.	Emtshanhi.	....	Eunel tshakyket.	Itshangi tshakyget.
Ikuku.	Gufikuku.	....	Eninikhse.	Ninikhse.	....	Guftiumsh.	Niniksh.
Petsh.	Ngewek.	....	Eninelkha.	Dshalatsha.	....	Lilikhl-eninelkha.	Dshalatshalilikhl.

Calcutta, 1876. (29) Bengal Asiatic Journal of 1840, Vol. IX. (30) Bengal Asiatic Journal of 1858, Vol. XXVI. (31) Dictionary, Tibetan Julius Klaproth, 2te Auflage, Paris, 1831.

CONCRETE

SPECIMENS OF

Language.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.
					ASIATIC
					Tungusian
Tungusian(35)	Ama.	Anä, Aenin.	Kuna, Kunakan.	Omolgi.	Hunat, Unat.
,, of Okhozk(34)	Ammu.	Enmu.	Uli.	Kungakan.	Ashatkan.
Lamutic(34)	Ama.	Anya.	Koakun.	Urka.	Atshatkan.
T. of the Lower Tunguska(34)	Ammen.	Onny.	Kumakan.	Urrhokana.	Adshadkan.
Mandshu(34) and(36)	Ama.	Eme, Enie.	Buyadshui, Kiu(36).	Buyadshui, Haka ku(36).	Sarkandshui Sarkan ku(36).
					Mongolian
Mongolian near the Chinese Wall(34)	Etshige, Abu.	Ezi, Ege, Ekhe.	Kuk (Küked).	Kö.	Kuk, Kööken, Okin.
Kalkha Mongolian(34)	Etshige, Abä.	Eke, Idshe.	Kuk.	Kö.	Kuk.
Buriatish(34)	Esygy.	Eke.	Basagan.	Basagan.	Bitshi, Akhan-okin.
Olotish in Dsungaria(34)	Ezege.	Eke.	Köökön.	Kübün.	Köökön.
,, on the Volga(34)	Etshiga.	Aekä.	Kööken.	Köbön.	Oekin, Kööken.
Dialects of Chorinsk(35)	Esege.	Izi.	Xuxen (37).	Xöbun.	Uxin, Basagan.
,, ,, Nishneudin(35)	Esegä.	Eke, Ebe.	Basagan, Kökoi.	Köbun.	Oeken.
,, ,, Selengin(35)	Ecege.	Esee, Izi.	Xugen.	Xobun.	Uxin, Basagan.
,, ,, Tunkin(35)	Isigä.	Ike, Ibi.	Kukon.	Köbun.	Okin, Basagan.

SPECIMENS OF

					ASIATIC
Chinese(38)	Fu, Teay-teay.	Mu, Kea mo.	Urh, Ying.	Urh tsze.	Neü-urh.
Japanese(34), (39)	Titi, Tsi-tsi.	Fa fa, Hä-hä.	....	....	....
Aino dialect on Tarakai(34)	Khambi, Una.	Khabu.	Khigazi, Po.	....	....
,, ,, on Yesso(34)	Khanpe Khambe.	Khafoo, Khapo.	Bofoo.	....	....

(34) Asia Polyglotta von Julius Klaproth, 2te Auflage, Paris, 1831. (35) M. Alexander Castrén's Grundzüge der Tungusischen Sprachlehre composé par M. Amyot, redigé et publié par L. Langlès, Paris, 1789. (37) The letter "x" sounds like a hard guttural aspirate. (38) See

LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).

THE Cβ² CLASS.

Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Elder Brother.	Younger Brother.	Sister.	Elder Sister.	Younger Sister.
LANGUAGES.							
Dialects.							
....	Asätkan.	....	Aka, Akin.	Näkun.	....	Aekä.	Näkun.
Utu.	Unadshu.	....	Akmu.	Nougu.	....	Ekmu.	Nougu.
Utu.	Unadshukh.	....	Aki.	Nuu.	....	Okmu.	Nuu.
....	....	....	Aki.	....	....	....	....
Dshui, Kui.(36)	Sardan Dshui, Sardan ku.(36)	....	Agi, Akhun Ahan.(36).	Deu(35), Teu.(36)	....	Eyun, Eiun.(36)	Non.
Dialects.							
Geugen.	Uegin.	....	Aka.	Dü, Doo, Dagoo.	....	Egetshi.	Dü, Uegin-dagoo
Kö, Kong.	Kuk, Ukin.	....	Akha.	Dü, Du.	....	Igitshi.	Dü.
Kobun.	Basagan.	....	Okai, Akhai.	Du.	....	Ese.	Akhan-ese.
Köbün.	Köökön.	....	Akho.	Dü.	....	Egetshi.	Dü.
Köbön.	Köökön.	....	Akha.	Du.	....	Aegätshi.	Döh.
Xobun.	Uxin.	....	Axa.	Dū.	....	Egeshi.	Dū.
Köbun.	Ōeken.	....	Aka.	Du.	....	Egeshe.	Du.
Köbun.	Uxen.	....	Axa.	Dū.	....	Egetshe.	Dū.
Kobun.	Okin.	....	Axa.	Du.	....	Igishi.	Du.

THE Cβ³ CLASS.

LANGUAGES.

Urh-tsze, Tsze.	Neü urh.	Hung-te or Te-heung.	Hung, Ko-ko; A-ko.	Te, A-te.	Tsze-Mei.	Tsze.	Mei.
Mu sko, Ko.	Mu-su ma.	....	A-ni.	O-to-to.	....	A-nih.	E-mo-to.
Poo.	Maz-pu.	....	Yobu.	Aki.	....	Shiaa.	Turish.
....	....	....	Iubi.	Sika.	....	Sha.	Teresi.

nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss herausgegeben von Anton Schiefner. St. Petersburg, 1856. (36) Dictionnaire Tartare-Mantchou-François Dictionary of the Chinese Language, by R. Morrison, D.D. (39) Compare: Systems of Consanguinity, by Lewis H. Morgan.

CONCRETE

SPECIMENS OF THE

Language.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.
					SAMOYEDISH
Dialect of the Yurazes(40), (42)	Nisea.	Nebea, Newan.	....	....	Piribtea.
,, ,, Ostiako Samoyedes(40), (42)..	Aza.	Au.	....	....	Nädak.
,, ,, Narüm O. S.(40), (42) ..	Aza, Eche.	Au, Eweb.	....	....	Nädek.
Dialect of the Tawgi(42)	Iase.	Name.	Nua.	....	Kuobtuan.
,, ,, Yenisei(42)	....	Ese.	E.	....	Kati.
,, ,, Kamas (40), (42)	As, Aba.	Ija, Ia, Jang.	Esi.	Maje.	Nitten, Kobdo.
,, ,, Natspumpokolsk(42).. ..	Aesse.	Awne.	....	....	Nitten.
					FINNISH
Dialect of the Mordvins (40)	Tatai.	Awai.	....	....	....
,, ,, Tcheremissians (40)	Atai, Atshai.	Abai, Abadshi.	....	....	....
,, ,, Votiaks(40)	Agai, Ai, Dadäi.	Mumy, Nonoi.	....	....	....
,, ,, Tchiusov Voguls(40) ..	Sassim.	Ankom.	....	....	....
,, ,, Verkhotur Voguls(40) ..	Iyag, Jeyu.	Avaty.	....	....	....
,, ,, Beresow Voguls(40)	Ea.	Ank, Angu.	....	....	....
,, ,, Hungarians	Atya, Apa.	Anya, Mama.	(Fiu).	Leggen.	Leang.
,, ,, Ostiakes of Beresow(40) ..	Arä, Iki.	Anga, Anymi.	....	....	....
,, ,, ,, on the Narüm(40)..	Adsha, Essep.	Anke, Amba, Am.	....	....	....
,, ,, ,, ,, Yugan(40)..	Igam.	Anke, Ess.	....	....	....
,, ,, ,, of Lumpokol(40) ..	Igam.	Essem.	....	....	....
,, ,, ,, of Wasyuga(40) ..	Essem, Adsha.	Evem, Evel.	....	....	....

(40) Asia Polyglotta von Julius Klaproth, 2te Auflage, Paris, 1831. (41) The Samoyedish languages appear to belong originally to the Cβ1
certain place. We have classed them provisionally among, the Cβ3 Class. In the following specimens we shall see, that the same word is used in
sister." (42) See M. Alexander Castrén's Wörterverzeichnisse aus den Samojedischen Sprachen bearbeitet von Anton Schiefner, St. Petersburg,
terms of relationship, as *Tochter* and *Schwester*. The terms denoting *brother* and *sister* are inserted according to Klaproth, but we do not vouch for
and *Teshtver* body's blood, both are words of a later period, though both retain the concrete character of their language.

LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).

$C\beta^3$ CLASS—(*Continued*).

Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Elder Brother.	Younger Brother.	Sister.	Elder Sister.	Younger Sister.
LANGUAGES.(41)							
Nu, Nyu.	Nenu, Piripte-nyu.	....	Nanieka, Neka, Ninyaka.	Papa, Pewe.	....	Nabako.	Nena, Niena.
I.	Ne.	....	Tebena.	Myda.	....	Apa.	Nena.
I, Ip.	'Ne.	....	Aga, Tebena.	Myda.	....	Apa.	Nena.
Tua.	Kuotuan, Nua.	....	Nenne.	Aja, Aija.	....	Afu, Aba.	Aja, Aija.
Nio.	Kati.	....	Innau, Ina.	Febe.	....	Oba.	Febe.
Nun.	Kobdo.	....	Tibena, Aga, Ada.	Awja, Phebi.	....	Appa, Ada.	Phebi.
....	....	....	Tibinna, Inne.	Koija.	....	Oppe.	Koija.
LANGUAGES.							
Züra.	(Tekhter)(44)	Alkai.	Pokysh.	Wyshkin.	(Sassor).(44)	....	....
Erge, Gen.	Yoder.	....	Shumbel.	Isai, Shom.	Akai, Apai.(43) Shujar, Isüdür.	....	....
Pi.	Nyl.	Wyn, Nyon, Ike.	Tshuj-mort(45).	Wyn-mort.(45)	Sursy.	(Suser).(44)	Ako.
Puum.	Ain.	Yowae, Yogan-pu.	Yap.	....	Yobowo.	Yogma.	Isha, Is.
Pu.	Aa.	Eai, Eupa.	....	....	Eip, Euma.	....	....
Py.	Agi.	....	Künga.	Apssi.	Yeg-agi(Father's daughter).	....	....
Fiu.	Leäng.	Atyafiu, (Tesht-ver)(46)	Ba, Bachy, Baty.	Oecs.	....	Nene.	Hug.
Pokh, Pakh.	Eua, Evy.	....	Ssoia.	Monya.	Yigem, Evai.	Obe.	Apssi.
Pakhy.	Evy.	....	Yai.	Apssi.	....	Popo.	Ninga.
Pagul.	Oggui.	Intlmani.	Yai.	Aimani, Moni.	....	Int-opi.	Ai-opi.
Pagam.	Oggui.	Atshil (?).	Aitkhim.	Kakem.	Iggem.	Oggui.	Tshikai, Em.
Pyram.	Oeggöm.	Yiggembok.	Odkim.	Kakom.	....	Anim.	Tshikaïum.

Class, but the information about these languages is so limited and at the same time so unreliable, that it is hardly safe to assign to them as yet a different dialects in a different sense, thus *Nena* originally "female consanguinity," *i.e.*, sister, signifies in some dialects "elder," in others "younger 1855. (43). Akai and Apali signify "elder sister." (44) The Fins, especially the Germanised Fins, have adopted in their language many Teutonic their correctness, which seems very doubtful. (45) "Mort" is derived from the word '*merd*,' man. (46) *Atya fiu* means verbally "father's son,"

CONCRETE

SPECIMENS OF THE

Language.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.
TURKISH					
Languages of the Uigurs[47]	Ata.	Ana.	....	....	....
" " Kashkarian Tatars of Kasan.	Atej.	Anej.	Bala.	Malaj.	Kiz.
" " Bashkirs[47]	Atai.	Annai, Inni, Apssai.	....	....	....
" " Yeniseisks[47]	Baba.	Idshe.	....	....	....
" " Chagatai	Ata.	Ana.	Ogul.	....	....
" " Kangaz[47]	Baba.	Edshe.	....	....	....
" " Teleuts[47]	Aba.	Enä.	....	....	....
" " Kirgizes[47]	Ata.	Tshitsha.	....	....	....
" " Yakuts[47]	Aga.	Iie, Iye.	....	....	....
NEPALESE					
Newari[50]	Buba.	Mang.	Macha.[49]	Kaya macha.[49]	Mhyaya ma-[49] cha.
Hayu or Vayu[51]	U-pa.	U-me.	Ta.	Ta wo.	Ta mi.
DRAVIDIAN					
Tamil	Takappan, Appan, Tandai.	Tay.	(Mak), Pillai.	Makan, Payan, An pillai.	Makal, Pen pillai.
Malayalam	Acchan, Appan.	Amma.	Kutti (in N. Malabar), Kunna (in S. Malabar.)	An Kutti, An Kunna.	Pen, Pen kutti.
Tulu	Amme.	Appe.	Kutti.	An.	Punnu.
Canarese	Tande.	Tai, Amma.	Kusu.	Moghu, Hudagu.	Hennu, Hudigi.
Badaga[50], [53]	Appa, Tande.	Avve, Tai.	Kusu, Kuju.	Gandu kuju, Hudugu.	Hennu kusu, Hennu.
Kurumba[53]	Tande.	Avve.	Kusu.	Gandu kusu.	Hennu kusu.
Irula[53]	Amme.	Avve.	Pulle.	Am-palle.	Pom-pulle.
Toda[50], [52], [53]	Appa[52], Eyan[53].	Avv.	Popen, Enne.	Mokh.	Kuch.
Kota[53]	Eyan.	Avve.	Mage.	Gandu mage.	Penne mage.

(47) Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, Paris, 1831. (48) *Tugan* means born, and *Bir tugan* born together. (49) History of Nepal, edited by Dan. 1858, Vol. XXVI, p. 372, ff. (52) Grammar of the Tuda Language, by the Rev. G. U. Pope, D.D. (53) Bengal Asiatic Journal of 1856, Vol. father, *Amma* mother, *Avva* grandmother, *Atta* mother-in-law, *Anna* (*anna*) elder brother, *Akka* (*Appa*) elder sister, &c. This fact and the made by the learned Bishop Caldwell (p. 294) in his Comparative Dravidian Grammar, p. 295, that the word "Annan" is derived from the verb

LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).

Cβ³ CLASS—(*Continued*).

Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Elder Brother.	Younger Brother.	Sister.	Elder Sister.	Younger Sister.
LANGUAGES.							
Okhly.	Khis.	....	Akha.	Ini.	....	Maktshi.	Ssingi.
Aul.	Kiz.	Bir tugan(48) (Karindash).	Aga.	Ene.	Kiskarindash.	Tütä.	Señel.
Ul, Au.	Kis.	....	Aga.	Ini.	....	Apai.	Señel.
Ol, Ul.	Kurtuiak.	....	(Karandash).	Tuman.	....	Bedshi.	Kidshi.
Ogul.	....	....	Aga, Akha.	Ini.	....	Apa.	Singil.
Olgan.	Kas.	....	Akhan.	Tuman.	....	Bedshem.	Kösstuman.
Uul.	Kis.	....	Agan.	Inim.	....	Ege.	Ssyin.
Aul.	Kis.	....	Aga.	Ini.	....	Apa.	Senel.
Oul.	Kis.	....	Bi.	Ini.	....	Agass.	Balta.
LANGUAGES.							
Kai.	Mha.	....	Dājū.(49)	Kijā.(49)	....	Tata.(49)	Kehen.(49)
Ta wo.	Ta mi.	....	Bolo.	Balu.	....	Nunu.	Diyu.
LANGUAGES.							
Makan.	Makal.	Sakotaran, Kūḍappirandavan, see p. 50.	Aṇṇan(54), Tamaiyan.	Tambi.	Kūḍappirandavaḷ, see p. 50.	Akkaḷ, Tamakkay.	Tañgai, Tañgacci.
Makan.	Makaḷ.	Sahodaran, Uṭappirannavan.	Anna, Jyēshṭha.(53)	Anujan.	Uṭappirannavaḷ, Peṇ gaḷ.	Akka, Jyēsṭhati.	Anujati.
Mage.	Magalu.	....	Anne, Palaye.	Megge.	....	Akka, Pali.	Megdi.
Maganu.	Magaḷu.	Kūḍahuṭṭidavanu.	Aṇṇa, Jyēshṭhanu.	Tamma, Anujanu.	Kūḍahuṭṭidavaḷu.	Akka.	Tañga.
Maga.	Magalu, Hennu.	(Kūḍa huṭṭidava).	Aṇṇa.	Tamma.	....	Akka.	Tañge.
....	....	....	Aṇṇa.	Tamma.	....	Akka, Amme.	....
....	....	....	Aṇṇa.	Tambe.	....	Akken.	Tañge.
Mokh.	Tüj makh.	(Ennorvet, born together).	Anan.	Taman.	(Ennorvet kuch, born together female).	Akka.	....
....	....	....	Aṇṇan.	Tamma, Kirāl.	(Kedase).	....	....

Wright, p. 300. (50) Specimens of Languages of India. (51) See Vāyu Vocabulary, by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., in the Asiatic Journal of Bengal, XXV. (54) The formation of the great majority of Dravidian words of kinship betrays a peculiar predilection towards inverse repetition, *e.g.*, *Appa* circumstance that verbs and nouns are occasionally derived from terms of endearment and kinship (see p. 32) induce me to reject the statement "Aṇṇu" to resort to. I believe that such derivation is contrary to the genius of the Dravidian languages. The combination of the pronominal

CONCRETE

SPECIMENS OF THE

Language.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.
					Dravidian
Telugu	Taṇḍri, Nāyana.	Talli, Amma.	Biḍḍa, Pilla, Paḍucu, Buḍuta.	Moga biḍḍa, Paḍucuvāḍu.	Āḍabiḍḍa, Paḍucudi or Paḍucu.
Gondi(55)	Baba, Dada, Dhaū.	Ya, Ma, Bau, Dhai.	Chawa.	Tuda, Pedgal, Perga.	Tudi, Pedgi, Pergi.
Rutluk(55)	Bavo, Dada.	Dai, Ouwal.	Chewa.	Pedaga.	Pedagi.
Madi or Maria(55)	Baba, Minmal.(56)	Yali, Awa; Minya.(56)	Chawa.	Pikor, Padalira.	Pedi, Pekis.
Keikadi(55)	Eiya, Baba.	Amma.	Pilla.	Gundta.	Warponu.
Gond of Wardha(56)	Babadala.	Avadu.	Tudala.	Todal.	Tudi.
,, ,, Hoshangabad(56)	Daū.	Aabbul.	Pedgul.	Pergul.	Miur.
,, ,, Mandla(56)	Babo.	....	Chowa, Murri.	Murri.	Pergi.
Khond of Ganjam(56)	Aba, Tangi.	Aya.	Mida.	Apa.	Budi.
,, (Lowland)(58)	Tangi.	Talli.	Bida.	Dangene.	Yadavo.
,, (Highland)(58)	Aba.	Hijda.	Mila.	Lavenju.	Lavu ajdumāne.
					Maldivian
Maldivian(59)	Baffa.	Amaë.	Daring.	Futu.	....

affix *tam* with terms of kinship is considered at length in Dr. Caldwell's excellent work. The Telugu *taṇḍri*, the Tamil *tandai*, the Canarese *tande* opinion that the second syllable contains the root in these Dravidian terms of kinship, so that *appa*, *amma*, *avva*, *atta*, *anna*, *akka*, &c., are derived consonant. Moreover such terms as the Telugu *āpe*, *āme* and *āke*, which are used when speaking of a respectable woman, and which are sister" strongly favor this supposition. The existence of the syllable *ak* in other languages as Hungarian, Finnish and Tungusian (see page

(55) Papers relating to the Aboriginal tribes of the Central Provinces left in MSS. by the late Rev. Stephen Hislop, edited by R. Temple, C.S.I., general terms. (58) See D. F. Carmichael, Manual of Vizagapatam. (59) Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1841, Vol. vi, p. 42 ff.

LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).

$C\beta^3$ CLASS—(*Continued*).

Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Elder Brother.	Younger Brother.	Sister.	Elder Sister.	Younger Sister.
LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).							
Koḍoku.	Kûturu.	Tōḍapuṭṭinavâḍu, Sahodaruḍu.	Anna.	Tammuḍu, Tammu.	Tọḍapuṭṭinadi, Sahodari.	Akka, Appa.	Cellelu
Marri, Tudal.	Miar.	....	Dada.	Tamur.	....	Taka.	Selad.
Marri.	Maya, Dali.	....	Dada.	Tamur.	....	(Bai).	Selad.
Marre, Magai.	Miyar, Miyadi, Magei.	....	Dada.	Tamur, Tamri.	....	(Bai).	....
Amil pilla.	Pomal pilla.	....	Anna.	Tambi.	....	Akka.	Tangchi.
....	Tudu.	Tamudal (?). (57)	....	Tamudal.	Shelada(?). (57)	....	Shelada.
Murri.	Miur.	Tummur (?). (57)	....	Tummur.	Sular(?). (57)	....	Sular.
....	Miyar.	Dau, Tunmur(?).	(Daû).	(Tunmur).	Silar (?).	....	Sila.
Mrienju.	Api, Budi.	....	Dada.	Ambesa.	Baitang. (56)	(Bai).	(Tang).
Mrimhi.	Mrijdu.	....	....	Tayi.	....	Nana.	Buḍḍi.
Mragga.	Mragga.	....	....	Tambesa.	....	Nana.	Buḍḍi.
LANGUAGE.							
Firiheng daring.	Angheng daring.	....	Bebe.	Koku.	Daita, Goiya.	(Daita). (59)	(Goiya). (59)

and other similar words for "father," I derive from the pronominal affix *tam* with *da*, representative of the Gond *dada*, father. I am further of from *pa*, *ma*, *va*, *ta*, *na*, *ka*, &c. The peculiar mode of Dravidian pronunciation favors the affixion of an initial vowel and the doubling of the composed of the demonstrative pronoun "a" that, and *pa*, *ma*, and *ka*, the representatives of the later words *amma* "mother" *appa* and *akka* "elder 43) does not contradict my conjecture, for other peculiarities prevail in other languages.

1866. (56) Specimens of Indian languages. (57) The terms for "younger brother" and "younger sister" seem to be used in the Gond languages

CONCRETE

UNCLASSIFIED

Language.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.

The scanty material at my disposal prevents me from placing many languages into their proper places as *e.g.*, the dialects spoken by the Dhangar, Sonthali, Mundari, Kol ; as well as the Brahui and the Caucasian tongues in the north indicate a leaning towards Cβ^3. The same

Language.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.
Kaffir	Ubaba (my f.) Uyihlo (thy f.) Uyise (his or her f.)	Umame (my m.) Unyoko (thy m.) Unina (his or her m.)	....	In kwenk we.	In tombi.

The information about Australian languages is also not so definite as to decide their character precisely, but there is

AUSTRALIAN

Language.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.
Dialect of Kamilaroi, (Queensland) ..	Buba.	Zumba.	Kai.	Birrodul.	Mie dul (little).
,, ,, Wirradhurri ,, ..	Babbin.	Gunnitsang.	Wanggai.	Birrin.	Inargang.
,, ,, Northumberland ,, ..	Biyung bai.	Tŭnkan.	Wonnai.	....	....
,, ,, Turrubul, ,, ..	Biz-buba.	Pujaz.	Nammul.	Mualum.	Yarumkun.
,, ,, Dippil ,, ..	Bobbin.	Savaz.	Methindum.	Ukhunn.	....
,, ,, Victoria	Marmunth.	Parbine.	Bŭbŭp.	Yanyean.	Munmundick.
,, ,, the West Coast	Bubenyambuana.	Gusma milkawina.	Wunara, Wika-thiara.	Bunia.	Yinadiul.
,, ,, Horsham tribe(63)	Marmie.	Barpee.	....	....	....
,, ,, Lake Hindmarsh tribe(63) ..	Mahmee.	Bap.	....	....	....
,, ,, Monulgundeech tribe(63) ..	Marm.	Barp.	....	....	....
,, ,, Boort tribe(63)	Marmoke.	Barbook.	....	....	....
,, ,, Mount Emu tribe(63) ..	Pittong.	Yuttong.	....	....	....
,, ,, Ja-jow-er-ong(63)	Marm.	Barb.	Boorp-boorp.	Boorp-boorp.	Booni booni.
,, ,, Narrinyeri(63)	Nanghai.	Nainkowa.	Porleau.	....	....

(60) The term "Binanao" found in the "Specimens" (see p. 123) seem to be a combination of *Bina* for Bhagini, and *nao* the genderless term "elder brother" and "elder sister." (62) "Brothers and sisters when named as such are always distinguished as elder or younger, there being Institute, Vol. II, page 266. (63) See : The Aborigines of Victoria, by R. Brough Smith. The Australians have peculiar terms for heterogeneous

LANGUAGES—(*Continued*).

CONCRETE LANGUAGES.

Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Elder Brother.	Younger Brother.	Sister.	Elder Sister.	Younger Sister.

Hrusso, Aka, Mishmi and Angama Nagas, which I believe belong to $C\beta^1$. The dialects of the Duffla, Miri, Abor, Kachari,(60) Mikir, Saura, seems to be the case with the Kaffir language of South Africa, whose different terms of relationship are generally given as follows :—

Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Elder Brother.	Younger Brother.	Sister.	Elder Sister.	Younger Sister.
In dodana.	In dodakazi.	....	Um ne.	Um na, Um nin-awe, Um nina-wana.	U Dade.(62)	....	....

no doubt about their belonging all to the concrete class ; *see* Journal of the Anthropol. Institute, Vol. II, p. 266 ff.

LANGUAGES.

Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Elder Brother.	Younger Brother.	Sister.	Elder Sister.	Younger Sister.
....	....	Daiadi, Gullami. (62)	(Daiadi.)(62)	(Gullami).	Boadi, Buri.	(Boadi).	(Buri).
....	....	Kagang.	....	....	Muagan.	....	....
....	....	Bingzai.	....	....	....	....	....
....	....	Zubuza, Duazal.	(Zubuza).	(Duazal).	Dadi, Muzuzkūl.	(Dadi).	Muzuzkul.
....	....	Mun, Wūdhūz.	(Mun).	(Wudhuz).	Yabun.	....	....
....	....	Wunthulong.	....	....	Mollokin.	....	....
....	....	Burgun.	....	....	Wingren.	....	....
Watchip.	Mun-gare-wee.	....	Wark week (my e. br.)	Eoiteck (my y. br.)	....	Jarjeck (my e.s.)	Eoitwun-deck (my y. s).
Wotchip.	Mun gairwee.	....	Wah-wee.	Kor-tee.	....	Jah-jee.	Kortuün-dee.
Wareep.	Mangjup.	....	Waroe.	Kut.	....	Jarch.	Kutook.
Watheby paingo.	Popomen.	....	Warwook.	Goodmanyook.	(Tarduke).	....	....
Maun.	Yarrangook.	....	Yandang.	Yangat.	....	Totorang.	Bambrak.
Warreip.	Mang gap.	....	Wharr.	Koot.	....	Char chook.	Koo-took-goork.
Porlean.	Porlean.	....	Gelanowe.	Tarte.	....	Maranowi.	Tarte.

of consanguinity; so also contains *Phongbai*, the Aryan term *Bhrātri*, contracted into Bai. (62) *Dada* denotes in many African languages no word signifying merely brother and sister, and equally applicable to elder and younger members of the family."—Journal of the Anthropol. persons when addressing each other, Vol. II, page 330 ff.

ABSTRACT

Language.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.
As the Semitic and Aryan languages are well known it is not necessary to furnish as many specimens of them as of the less known				
Aα				
Old Egyptian	Ut.	Mu.	....	Si.
Berber[64]	Baba.	Imma.	....	Akshish.
Hebrew	Āb.	Im.	....	Ben, Yeled.
Aβ				
Sanskṛit	Pitṛi.	Matṛi.	Toka, Apatya.	Bala, Kumara.

Language.	Father.	Mother.	Child.	Boy.	Girl.
ARYANIZED LANGUAGES					
Bengali	Tata, Bapa, Thakura.	Amba, Ma, Thakurāni.	Chhao, Beta, Bala.	Chhokarā, Balaka.	Chhokarī, Mānya.
Uriya	Pita, Bapa.	Mata, Ma.	Pita, Balaka.	Balaka.	Toki.
Hindustani	Pita, Daū, Bap.	Mata, Ma, Maye.	Larka, Beta, Lal.	Larka, Lola, Khokhā.	Larkī, Khukkī.
Sindhi	Piu, Avo, Babo.	Maū, Jiji, Ama.	Baru.	Chokaru, Ningaru.	Chokarī, Ningarī.
Gujarati	Bapa, Pita.	Ma, Ba.	Chhokara.	Chhaiyo.	Chhokari.
Marāṭhi	Bap, Bapa.	Ai, Mai.	Lenkeru.	Pore, Mulaga.	Porī, Mulagī.
Conkani	Ami.	Amma.	Cerudu.	Cerko.	Celli.[66]
ARYANIZED LANGUAGES					
Singhalese	Tata.	Amma.	Daruvā, Amayga.	Daruvā, Kolla.	Kelli.[66]
Language of the Veddahs[67]	Appa.	Mawa, Movī.	....	....	....

(64) Dictionnaire Français Berbère, ouvrage composé par ordre de M. le ministre de la guerre, Paris, 1844. (65) *Egma* appears to be identical *Kelli*. (67) The information about the Veddahs was kindly supplied to me by Mr. A. D. Sylva, through the friendly interest shown in this languages will soon manifest their primitive concrete features. The original ancient languages have disappeared, and by coalescing with Sanskṛit

LANGUAGES.

Girl.	Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Sister.

concrete tongues. Hebrew is chosen as the representative of the Semitic, and Sanskṛit as the representative of the Aryan languages.

LANGUAGES.

Set.	Si.	Set.	Sen.	Sent.
Takshisht.	Akshish.	Takshisht.	Egma(65).	Uletsma.
Bath, Yaldah.	Ben.	Bath.	Ăch.	Ăchōth.

LANGUAGES.

Bala, Kanyā.	Putra, Suta.	Duhitṛi, Putrī.	Bhrātṛi.	Svasṛi.

Son.	Daughter.	Brother.	Elder Brother.	Younger Brother.	Sister.	Elder Sister.	Younger Sister.

IN INDIA.

Putra, Beta.	Kanya, Beti.	Brata, Bai.	Dada, Agraja.	Chota brata, Anuj.	Baina.	Mīmī, Dīdī.	Chota bhagini.
Putra.	Kanya, Ihia.	Bhrata, Bhai.	....	....	Bhona.	....	....
Beta, Lal.	Beti, Dukh.	Bhai, Bhuya.	Dada, Kaka, Bara bhai.	Chota bhai.	Bahin.	Bari bahin, Āpā.	Choti bahin.
Putu.	Dhiu, Niāṇi, Khanyī.	Bhai, Bhao, Avo.	Dado.	....	Bhenu, Adi, Dadī.	....	....
Dikaro, Chhokaro, Putra.	Dikari, Putri.	Bhai.	Moto Bhai.	Nano bhai.	Bhona.	Moti bhona.	Nanī bhona.
Putra, Lank, Lyonk.	Kanya, Lyeuk, Mulage.	Bhawu.	Anna, Wadel bhaū, Agraz.	Dhakata bhaū, Anuz.	Bahini.	Akka, Wadilo bahini, Agraza.	Dhakati bahini, Avarza.
Putu.	Dhuva.(66)	Bhāwu.	Anna, Malagadu.	Sanu-bhawu.	Bahini.	Akka.	Sani Bahini.

IN CEYLON.

Puta, Daruva.	Duvā.(66)	Sahodara.	Ayya.	Malaya.	Sahodarī.	Akka.	Nangi.
Puta Pechchā, Peti.	Dū, Pechchī, Peṭi.	....	Ayya.	Mele.	....	Akka.	Naga.

with the word *Egmo* occurring in the Upper Guinea languages, pages 117 and 119. (66) Compare *Dhuva* and *Celli* with the Singhalese terms *Duva* and enquiry by Mr. R. W. D. Moir, the Government Agent, E. P., Batticaloa. A look at the terms of relationship of the so-called modern Prakṛit have been transformed into modern abstract idioms.

GUSTAV OPPERT.

II.

THE GANGA KINGS.

The inscription of which a *fac-simile* is appended, with a transcript and translation, was obtained at Hosoor, about 50 miles north of Bangalore. It is the record of a grant made in the Śaka year 685 (A.D. 763) by the Gaṅga king Pṛithuvī Koṅgaṇi of certain lands in Śrípura, situated near Gúdalúr; and contains a complete genealogy of the former kings of the line. The plates are in good preservation, and secured on a metal ring bearing the Gaṅga crest of an elephant on the seal. The characters in which the grant is inscribed are Haḷe Kannaḍa: the language is Sanskrit.

The Gaṅga kingdom may be described, generally, as having extended over all the region drained by the Káverí and its tributaries, with the exception of the delta of Tanjore: that is to say, over the south of Mysore and Coorg, with Salem, Coimbatore, the Nílgiri and parts of Malabar. Their territory in Mysore was called the Gaṅgaváḍi Ninety-six Thousand, as containing, perhaps, 96 náḍs; while their territory in Coimbatore and Salem was called the Koṅgu deśa. Down to the middle of the 3rd century their capital was at Skandapura, which Lassen has placed at Gajalhaṭṭi: it was then removed to Talakáḍu on the Káverí.

These kings have been supposed to be identical with the Chera kings mentioned in the earliest traditions of the south, but none of their grants, of which I have succeeded in discovering several, contains any reference to the Cheras. From an old chronicle we learn that the Gaṅgas were preceded in the government of Koṅgu by seven kings of the Raṭṭa family, but no memorial of these has yet come to light. The last of them, Śrí Vikrama or Tíru Vikrama, abandoned the

Jain faith for that of Śiva, and made many conquests in the neighbouring countries. He is mentioned as the first who ruled over Karṇáṭaka or Mysore. No reason is stated for the change of dynasty which followed, but it seems highly probable that the Gaṅgas of Mysore threw off his yoke and superseded him in the government; which thenceforth remained in their family down to the close of the 9th century or beginning of the 10th.

The following is the list of the Gaṅga kings, with their dates, to a great extent verified by grants:—

	A.D.
Koṅgaṇi (I) Varmma Dharmma	188 to 239
Mádhava (I)	239 to —
Hari Varmma	— 247 to 288 —
Vishṇu Gopa	350
(?)Rája Malla	——
Mádhava (II)	— to 425
Koṅgaṇi (II)	425 to 478
Aviníta, Duvviníta, Koṅgaṇi Vṛiddha, Koṅgaṇi (III)	478 to 513 —
Mushkara	——
Śrí Vikrama	— to 539
Bhú Vikrama	539 to —
Vilanda	——
Śrí Vallabha	——
Nava Káma, Śivamára, Koṅgaṇi (IV)	668
(?)Bhíma Kopa	——
Rája Kesari	——
Prithuví Koṅgaṇi	727 to 777
Rája Malla Deva	——
Gaṇḍa Deva	——
Rácha Malla, Satya Vákya Koṅgaṇi (I)	857 to 869
Permmanáḍi, Satya Vákya Koṅgaṇi (II)	869 to —
Malla Deva	— 878 to 894 —

Soon after this period the Gaṅgas were driven from their kingdom by the conquests of Rájendra Choḷa; but the Hoysala family of Gaṅgaváḍi rose to power at the end of the 10th century, and under Vishṇu Varddhana of that line became independent possessors of all the late Gaṅga territories at the beginning of the 12th. Mention occurs during the 11th century of members of the Gaṅga family in subordinate positions—one as a governor under the Hoysala king, and another as a general under the Western Chálukya king. But by 1132 a representative of the family had established himself on the throne of Orissa and founded the Gaṅga line of kings, also from their crest called Gajapatis or elephant lords, who ruled over that country down to 1534, not long after which it was subdued by the Muhammadans.

But the Gaṅgas do not yet disappear from history. For a Gaṅga Rája returned about this time to the scene of their early dominion, and established a principality at Śivasamudram, the island at the Falls of the Káverí, about 12 miles north-east of Talakáḍu. He was succeeded by Nandí Rája; and he by Gaṅga Rája II, with whom the line came to a tragic end early in the 17th century under highly romantic circumstances. The subjects of the old Gaṅgaváḍi province are represented by the large body of Gaṅgaḍikára ryots now existing in Mysore.

As regards the present inscription, the translation will speak for itself; but one or two points may be briefly noticed. And first, the *mahá śilá stambha* or great pillar of stone which Koṅgaṇi I, is stated to have divided with a single stroke of his sword. This feat, attributed to him in nearly every inscription of these kings, is difficult to explain. But I have conjectured that *śilá stambha* is not unlikely a corruption of *śíla stambha*, the name by which the pillars erected by Aśoka inscribed with his edicts were called. None has hitherto been found in the south, but possibly one may have existed, which this king overthrew.

Mádhava II appears to have married the sister of Krishṇa Varmma, the Kadamba king. This is the well-known royal race who ruled the Banavase country in the north-west of Mysore from the beginning of the Christian era till the Chálukya invasion of the 5th century. They then became feudatories of the Chálukyas and were restricted to the government of Hanugal. But in the 11th century they seem to have again received a great part of their former dominions, though as tributary kings. Traces of them are found down to the foundation of Vijayanagar in 1336, and the first kings of that empire may have been descendants from the Kadambas.

Of the places conquered by Avinita, only one can be identified with confidence, namely, Pennagara, still called by that name and situated near the left bank of the Káverí in the north-west of the Salem district.

The Pallava king trodden to death by elephants in a battle with Vilanda Rája, is the representative of a highly interesting dynasty, under whom were executed the splendid sculptures of Amarávati and of the Seven Pagodas. To about 605 their capital was at Veṅgi near Rájamandri, of which being then dispossessed by the Eastern Chálukyas, they removed the seat of their government to Káñchi (Conjeveram), where it remained till the end of the 11th century, about which time the dynasty came to an end. There is reason to believe that they were preceded in the government of the Pálár valley by a line of kings of the Mahávali family.

The Mányapura from which our grant was made, I have little doubt is the ancient city whose site is pointed out near Chámrájñagar in the south of Mysore as Maṇipura. Gúdalúr, where the lands which form the donation were situated, may pretty certainly be identified with the place of that name on the north-west of the Nílgiri, between Ootacamund and Manantoddy.

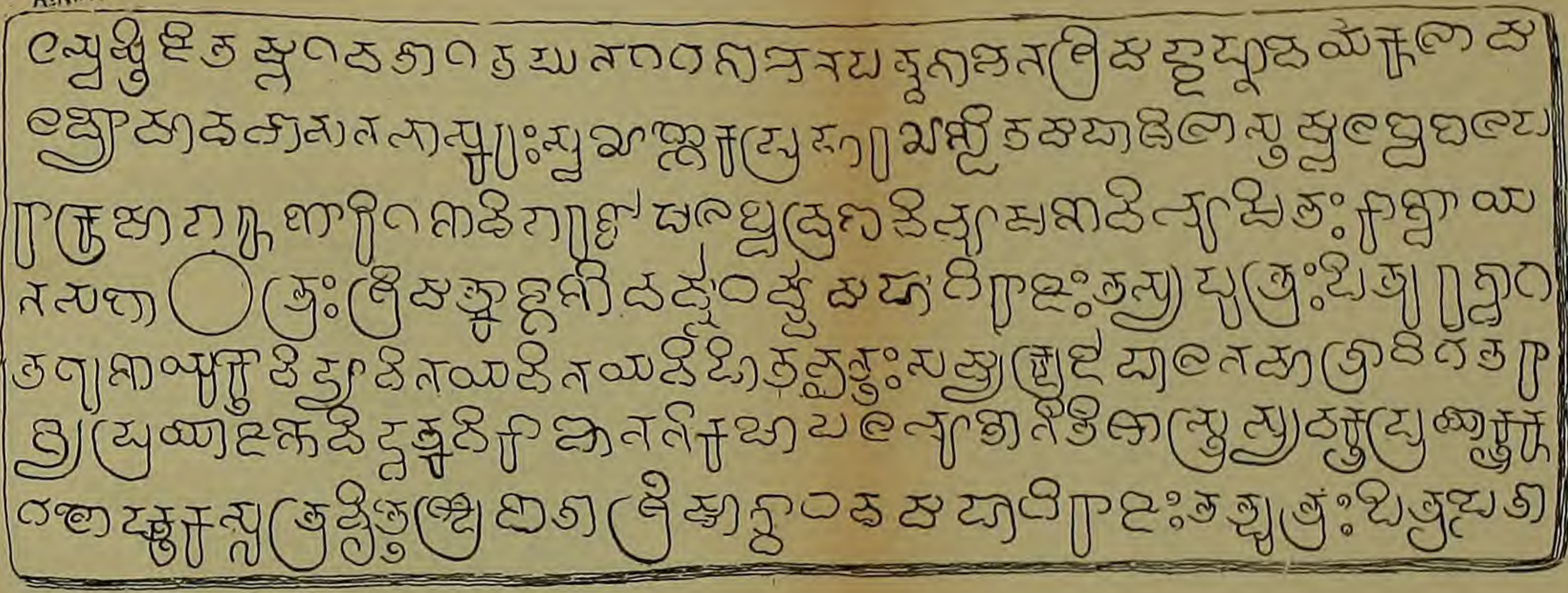
Transcript.

1\. Svasti jitam bhagavatá gata-ghana-gaganábhena Padmanábhena śrímad-Jáhnaveya-kuláma=
la-vyomávabhásana-bháskarah sva-khaḍgaika-prahára-khanḍita-mahá-śilá-stambha-labdha-bala-pa=
rákramo dáruṇári-gaṇa-vidáraṇopalabdha-vraṇa-vibhúshaṇa-vibhúshitah Kánváya=
nasa-gotrah śrímat-Koṅgaṇi-Varmma-Dharmma-mahádhirájah tasya putrah pituranvága=
ta-guṇa-yukto vidyá-vinaya-(vinaya-)vihita-vṛittah samyak-prajápálana-mátrádhigata-rá=
jya-prayojano vidvat-kavi-káñchana-nikashopala-bhúto níti-śástrasya-vaktṛi-prayoktṛi-ku=
śalo dattaka-sútra-vritteṛ-praṇetá śrímán-Mádhava-mahádhirájah tat-putrah pitṛi-paitá=

2\. mahá-guṇa-yukto 'ne[ka]-cháturddanta-yuddhávápta-chatur-udadhi-salilásvádita-yaśáh śrímadd-Ha=
ri-Varmma-mahádhirájah tat-putro dvija-guru-devatá-pújana-paro Náráyaṇa-charaṇán-anudhyá=
tah śrímán—Vishṇu-Gopa-mahádhirájah tat-putrah Tryambaka-charaṇámboruha-rajaṛ-pavitrí-kṛi=
tottamángah sva-bhuja-bala-parákrama-kraya-krita-rájyah Kaliyuga-bala-paṅkávasanna=
dharmma-vṛishodharaṇa-nitya-sannaddhaḥ śrímán-Mádhava - mahádhirájah tat - putrah śrímat-Kadamba=
kula-gagana-gabhakti - málinah Kṛishṇa - Varmma-mahádhirájasya-priya-bhágineyo vidyá-vinayáti=
śaya - paripúritántarátmá niravagraha - pradhána-śauryyo vidvatsu-prathama-gaṇyah śrímáṅ-Ko=
ṅgaṇi-mahádhirájah Avinîta-námá-tat-putro vijṛimbhamáṇa-śakti-trayah Andari-Ála=

3\. ttúp-Paurulaṛe - Pennagarády-aneka - samara-mukha-makha-húta-prahata-śúra-purusha-paśúpa=

A. N° 1.



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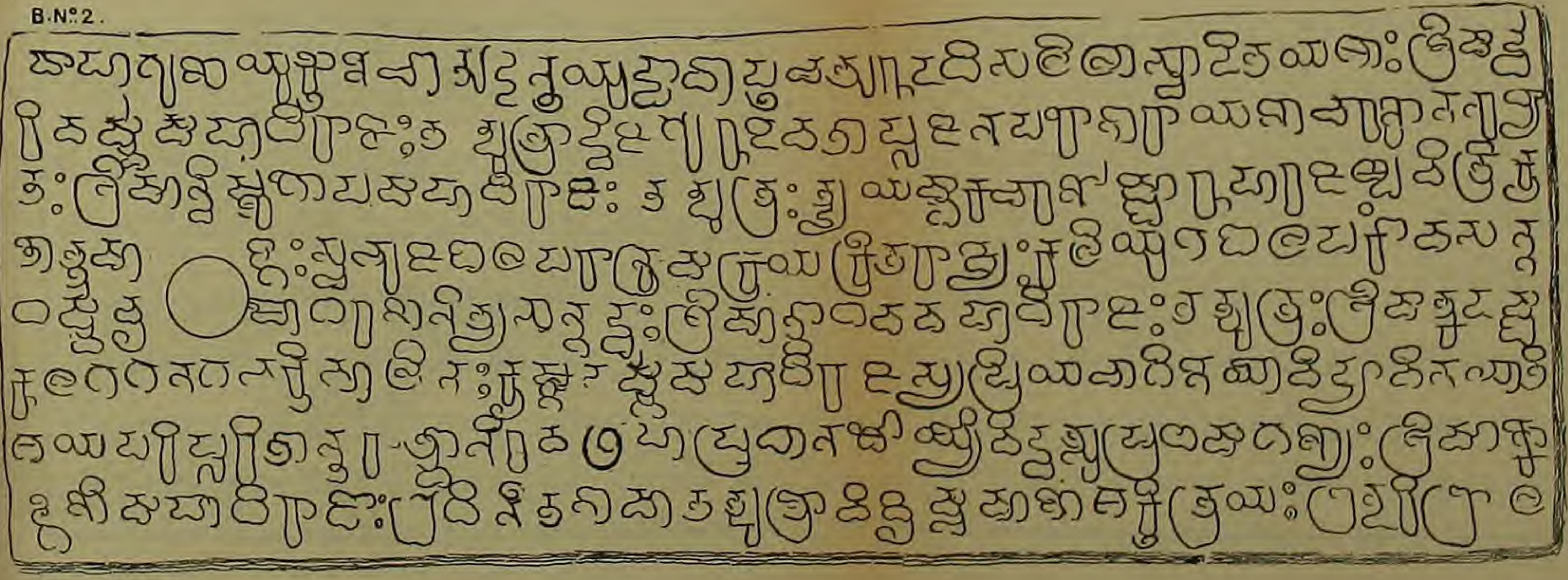
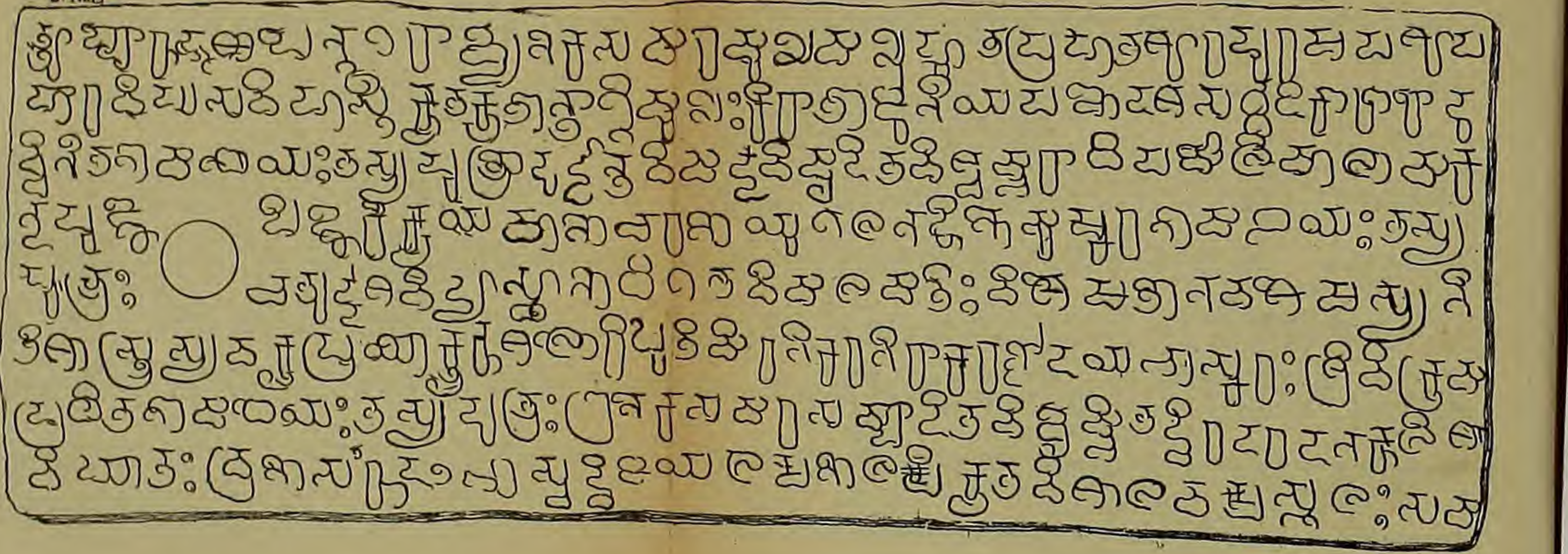


B. No. 3



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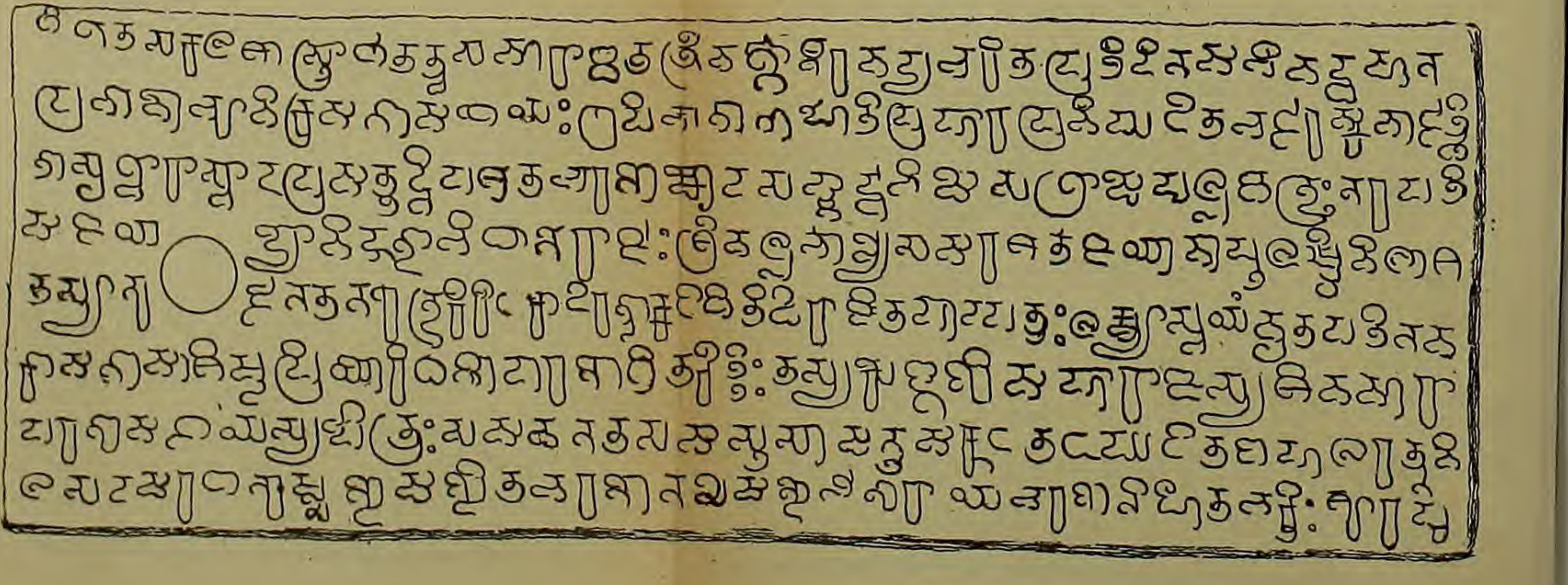
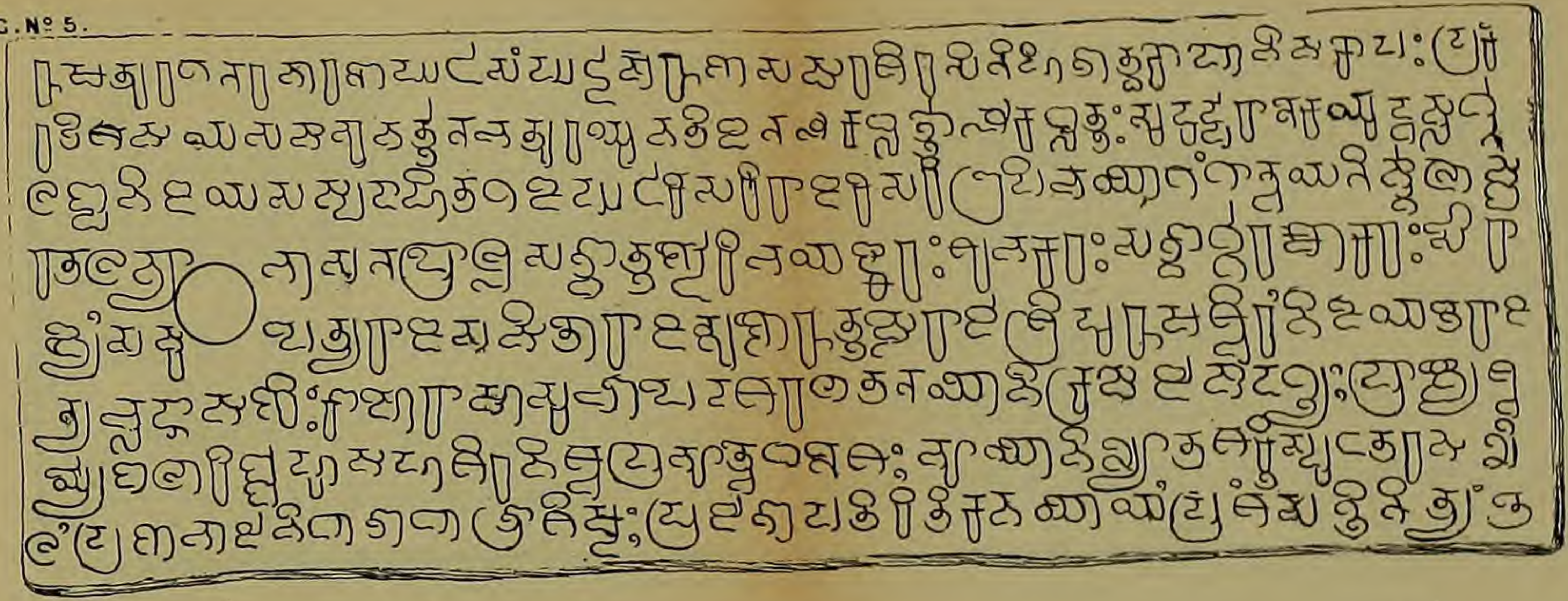


NATURAL HISTORY

C. No. 5.



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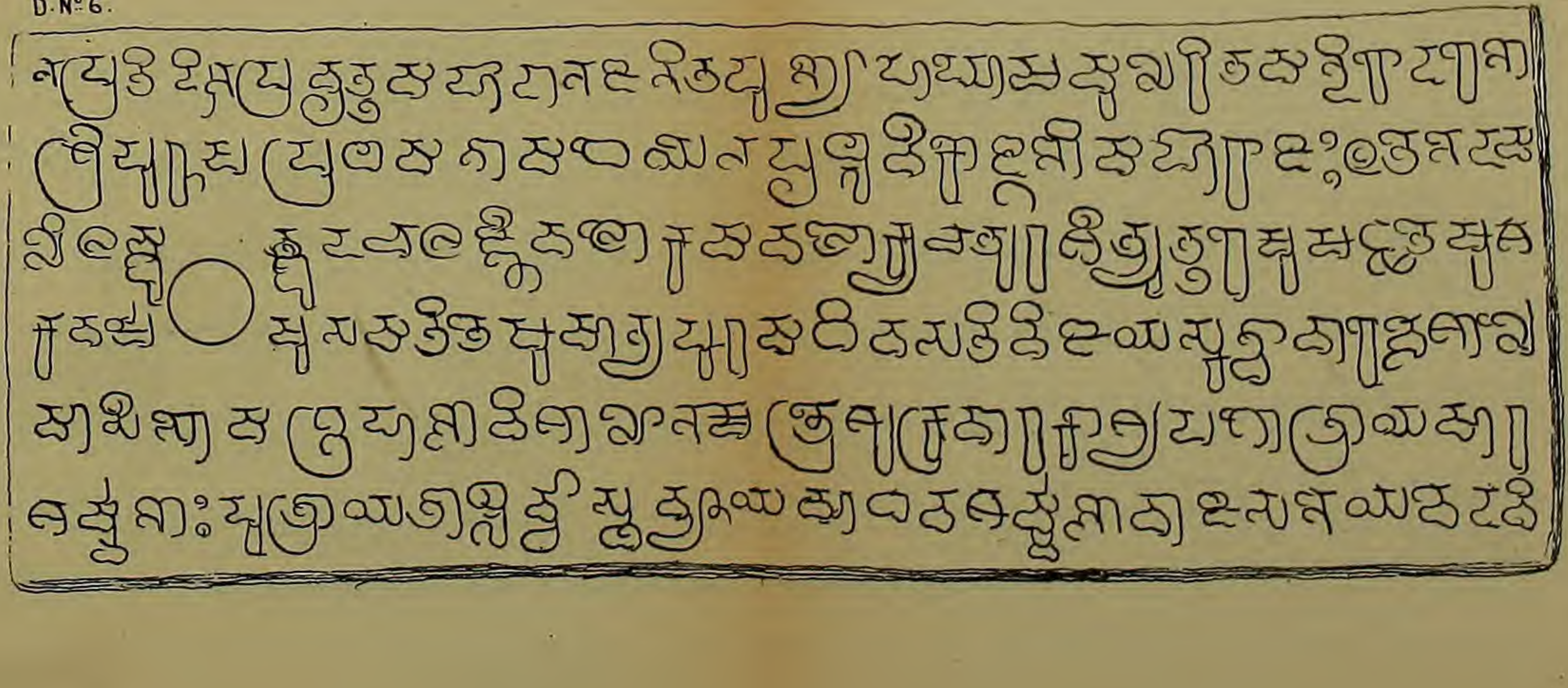
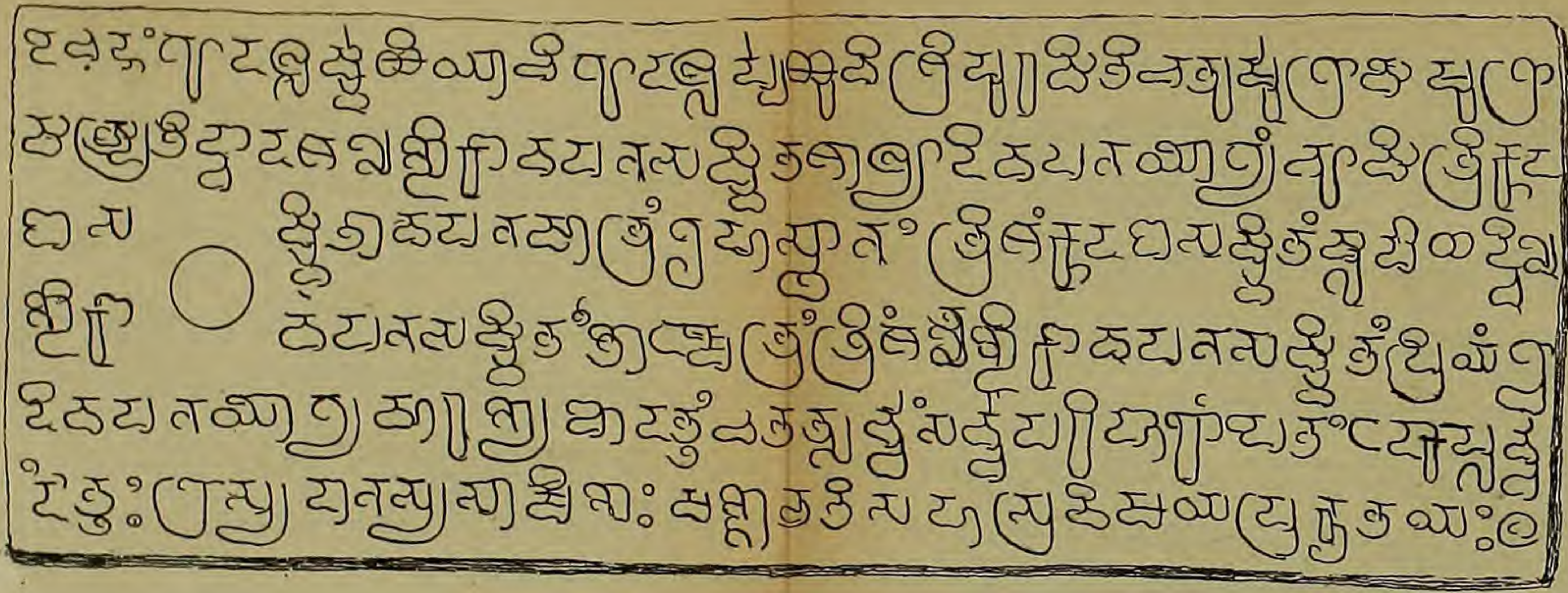
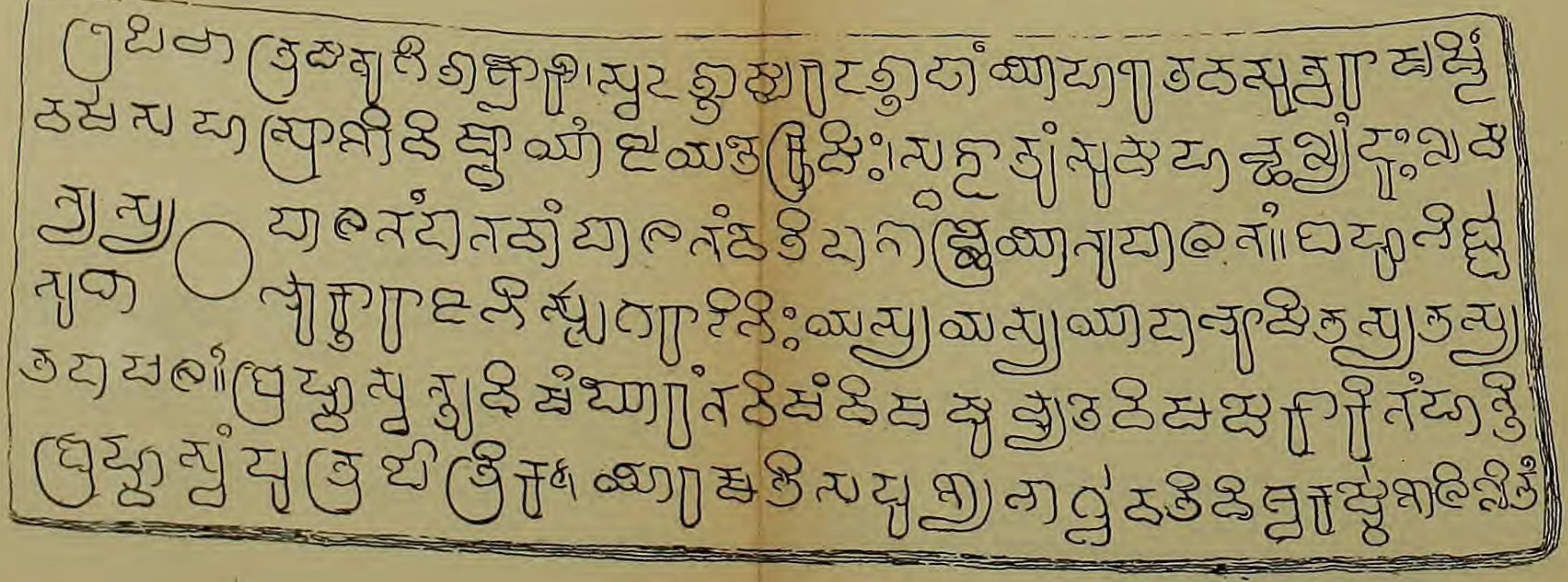


D. N°7.



E. N°8.



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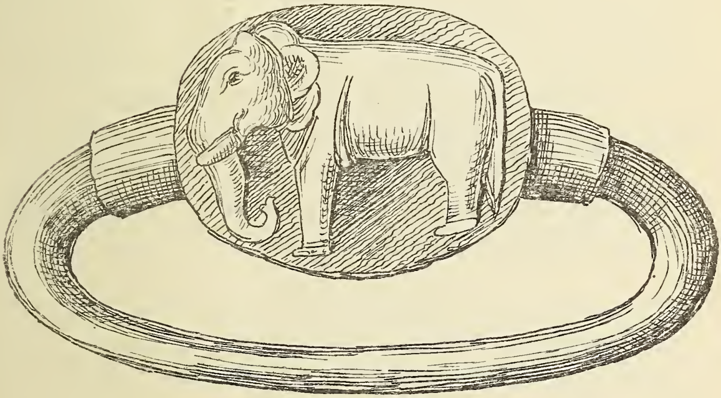


BRITISH MUSEUM
NATURAL HISTORY

hára-vighasa-vihastíkrita-kritántágnimukhah Kirá-
tárjuníya-pañcha-dasá-sargga-ṭíkákáro Du=
vviníta-námadheyah tasya-putro durddanta-vimardda-
vimṛidita - viśvambharádhipa - mauli - málá - maka
[ra]=
nda-puñja-piñjarí* -krayamána-charaṇa-yugala-naḷino
Mushkara-námadheyah tasya=
putrah chatur-ddaśa-vidyásthánádhigata-vimala-matih
viśeshatonavaśeshasya-ní=
ti - śástrasya - vaktṛi - prayoktṛi - kuśalo ripu-timira-
nikara - nirákaraṇodaya - bháskarah Śrí - Vikrama-
prathita-námadheyah tasya-putrah aneka-samara-
sampádita-vijṛimbhita-dvirida-radana-kuliśa—
vighátah vraṇa-samrúḍha-bhásvad-vijaya-lakshaṇa-
lakshíkṛita-viśála-vaksha-sthalah sama=
4. dhigata - sakala - śástrártha - tatvá samárádhita-tri-
varggo niravadya-charita-prati-dinam-abhivarddha-
mána=
prabhávo Bhú-Vikrama-námadheyah apichá nána-
heti-prahára-pravighaṭita-bhaṭṭáram-kaváṭṭátthí=
tá-srigvárásváda-pramatta-dvipa-śata-charaṇa-kshoda-
sammarddha-Bhímesa-gráme†-Pallavendrah - nara-
pati=
m-ajayad-yo Viḷandábhidháne-rájáh Śrí-Vallabhá-
khya samara-śata-jayávápta-lakshmí-viláśa-
tasyánujo nata-narendra-kiríṭa-koṭi-ratṇákka-dídhiti-
virájita-páda-patmajah Lakshmyá-svayam-vrata-
pati Nava-
Káma-námá śishṭa-priyori-gaṇa-dáraṇa-gíta-kírttih
tasya Koṅgaṇi-mahárájasya Śivamárá-
paranámadheyasya pautrah samavanata-samasta-
sámanta-makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭita-bahala-ratṇa-vi=

---

* The spelling is *pujña pijñari.*
† Or (?) *bhíme-sa*[*n*]*gráme.*

lasa-damara-dhanushkhaṇḍa-maṇḍita-charaṇa-nakha-maṇḍalo Náráya[ṇa]-charaṇa-nihita-bhaktiḥ śúra-pu=

5. rusha - turaga - nara-váraṇa-ghaṭá-saṅghaṭṭá-dáruṇa-samara - śirasi - nihitátma - kopo Bhíma - Kopaḥ prakaṭa-

ratíśamaya-samanuvarttana-chatura-yuvatí-jana-loka-dhúrtto loka-dhúrttaḥ sudurddharáneka-yuddha-múrdhna-

labdha-vijaya-sampadáhita-gaja-ghaṭa-kesarí Rája-Kesari apicha yo Gaṅgánvaya-nirmmálámba=

ra-tala-vyábhásana-prollasan-máttaṇḍári-bhayaṅkaraḥ śubhakaraḥ san-márgga-rakshákaraḥ saurá=

jyam samupetya rája-samito-rájanya-ṇairuttamairájá śrí-purushaś chiram-vijayate rája=

nya-chúḷámaṇiḥ Kámo Rámo su-chápe Daśaratha-tanayo vikrame Jámadagnyaḥ prájyaiśva=

rye Balárir bbahú-maháśi-Raviś-cha prabhútve Dhaneśaḥ bhúyo-vikhyáta-śakti sputataram-akhi=

lam práṇa-vájá-vidhátá-dhátrá-śishṭaḥ Prajánámpatir iti kavayo yam praśamsanti nityam te=

6. na prati-dine pravṛitta mahá-dána-janita-punyáha-ghoshamukharita-maṇḍirodareṇa

Śrí-Purusha-prathama-námadheyena Pṛithuví-Koṅgaṇi-mahárájaḥ tenedam a=

khilam bhutbud-achalajñíva-lokam-avalokya chatur-aśíty-uttareshu shaṭ-chhateshu Śa=

ka-varsheshu samatíteshu Mányapuram-adhivasati-vijaya-skandhávare Vaiśakhe=

músí soma-ggrahaṇe Viśákhá-nakshatre Śukraváre Káśyapa-gotráya Mára-

Śarmmaṇaḥ-putráya Táthúr-vvasthavyáya Mádhava-Śarmmaṇe Vájasaneya-veda-vi=

7. de elam-Gúdalúr-mmariyáchi Gúdalúr-pparuvi Śrí-puram iti chaturshu grámeshu grá=
mam prati dvádaśa-khaṇḍiká vapana-sammita śályádi-vapana-yogyam bhúmi tri-kuda=
ba-sammitá vapana-mátram griha-sthánam triśam kudaba-sammitam múrpathá dvi-kha=
ṇḍiká vapana-sammitam toṭa-kshetram trimśat-khaṇḍiká vapana-sammitam priyangvá=
di-vapana-yogyam áraṇyañ-cha dattam etat-sarvvam sarvva-pariháropetam udaka-púrvva=
m dattah asya dánasya sákshiṇah Shannavati-sahasra-vishaya-prakṛitayah

8. Apichátra Manu-gítá śloká | svadattám paradattám vá yo hareta vasundhará shashṭi
varsha sahasráṇi vishṭháyám jáyate krimih | svandá-tum mahachchhakhyam duhkham a=
nyasya pálanam dánam vá pálanam veti puṇachch-hreyonu pálanam || bahúbhir bba=
sudhá-bhuktá-rájabhis Sagarádibhih yasya yasya yadá bhúmí tasya tasya
tadá phalam || Brahma-svantu visham ghoram na visham visham uchyate visham ekákinam hanti
Brahmasvam putra-pautrikam | yo rakshati sa puṇya bhágbhavati Viśvakarmmeṇa likhitam.

Translation.

May it be well. Success through the adorable *Padma-nábha*, resembling (in colour) the cloudless sky.

A sun illumining the clear firmament of the *Gaṅga* race, distinguished for the strength and valour acquired from the great pillar of stone divided with a single stroke of his sword, adorned with the ornament of a wound received in cutting down the hosts of his cruel enemies, of the Kánváyana gotra, was Śrímat *Koṅgaṇi Varmma Dharmma* Mahádhirájá.

His son, inheriting all the qualities of his father, possessing a character for learning and modesty, having obtained the honors of the kingdom only for the sake of the good government of his subjects, a touchstone for (testing) gold the learned and poets, skilled among those who expound and practice the science of politics, the author of a treatise on the law of adoption, was Śrímán *Mádhava* Mahádhirájá.

His son, possessed of all the qualities inherited from his father and grandfather, whose fame through entering into war with many elephants had tasted the waters of the four oceans, was Śrímad *Hari Varmma* Mahádhirájá.

His son, devoted to the worship of Brahmans, gurus and gods, praising the feet of Náráyaṇa, was Śrímán *Vishṇu Gopa* Mahádhirájá.

His son,—whose head was purified by the pollen from the lotuses the feet of Tryambaka, having purchased his kingdom by personal strength and valour, daily eager to extricate the ox of merit from the thick mire of the Kali-yuga in which it had sunk, was Śríman *Mádhava* Mahádhirájá.

His son,—the dear sister's son of *Kṛishṇa Varmma* Mahádhirájá, the sun to the sky of the *Kadamba* race—having a mind chastened with the growth of learning and modesty, of indomitable bravery in war, reckoned the first of the learned was Śríman *Koṅgaṇi* Mahádhirájá.

His son named *Avinita*, possessed of the three powers of increase, who had brought anxiety to the face of Yama on account of the smallness of the residue left after the countless animals offered to him (namely) the brave men consumed in the sacrifice of the face of the many wars waged for *Andari*, *Álattúr*, *Paurulaṛe*, *Pennagara* and other places, the author of a commentary on fifteen sargas of the *Kirátárjunīya*, was called *Duvvinīta*.

His son, the lotuses of whose two feet were dyed with the balls of honey shaken from the lines of clustering bees the

powerful kings rubbing against one another in bending before him, was named *Mushkara.*

His son, of a pure wisdom acquired from his being the abode of fourteen branches of learning, skilled among those who expound and practice the science of politics in all its branches, a rising sun in dispersing the clouds of darkness his enemies, bore the celebrated name of *Śrí Vikrama.*

His son, dealing destruction with the weapons of the tusks of huge elephants acquired in many wars, his broad chest bearing on itself the marks of victory in the shining scars of healed-up wounds, having acquired the essence of the principles of all sciences, having gained the three objects of worldly pursuit, the glory of whose virtuous life each day augmented, was *Bhú Vikrama* by name.

Moreover, he who had conquered in the Bhímesa village (or in a hard-fought battle) the *Pallavendra* king trodden to powder by a hundred feet of elephants maddened with tasting the streams of blood issuing from the door of the breast of the warriors forced open by his numerous weapons, was named *Vilanda Rájá.*

His younger brother was called *Śrí Vallabha,* in the enjoyment of fortune obtained by victory in a hundred fights, his lotus feet irradiated with the brilliance of the jewels in the crowns of prostrate kings.

A self-chosen husband of Lakshmi, having the name *Nava Káma,* his fame in destroying hostile kings, the theme of song, was *Koṅgaṇi* Mahárájá, whose other name was *Śivamára.*

Whose grandson, the groups of the toes of his feet illuminated with a rainbow light from the rays of the jewels set in the bands of the crowns of prostrate kings, his faith securely fixed on the feet of Náráyaṇa, raging with fury in the front of war horrid with the assault of heroes, horses, men and elephants, was *Bhíma Kopa.*

No less a captivator of the glances of young women the most skilled in the joyful art of love than a subduer of the world, laden with spoils of victory gained in many most arduous wars, a lion to the herd of elephants his enemies, was *Rája Kesari.*

Moreover, a sun greatly illumining the clear firmament of the *Gaṅga* race, a terror to his enemies, bestower of happiness protector of good ways, the possessor of a prosperous kingdom shining like a sun over all the lines of kings, the husband of fortune may he ever be victorious, a head ornament of kings with his bow resembling Káma or Ráma the son of Daśaratha, in bravery a Paraśu Ráma, in royal wealth Balári, and in great splendour Ravi, in government Dhaneśa, of a mighty and splendid energy, the most glorious all in all, to all things living Brahma himself, he whom poets daily praise as the universal father, by him, the middle of whose palace continually echoed the sounds of the holy ceremonies which accompanied his daily rich gifts, among the favourites of fortune named the first (or having the first name of *Śrí Purusha*), *Pṛithuví Koṅgaṇi* Mahárajá.

By him, considering that all things in this world are as transient as a bubble, the Śaka year 684 having passed, from his victorious camp established in *Mányapura*, in the month Vaiśákha, during an eclipse of the moon, under the constellation Viśákha, on Friday, to Mádhava Śarmma, the son of Mára Śarmma of the Káśyapa gotra, a resident of Táthúr, learned in the Vájasaneya veda, is given in the (?) seven *Gúdalúr* . . . ., in the *Gúdalúr* . . . ., in the four villages of *Śrípura*, twelve khaṇḍika in each village, with seed for sowing, of land fit for the cultivation of rice and other grain, with power of three mortgages; a store-house for seed-grain only, with power of three mortgages; two khaṇḍika of garden land having (?) paths, with seed for sowing; thirty khaṇḍika of forest fit for the cultivation of

drugs (or pepper), &c., with seed for sowing. The whole of this, freed from all imposts, is given with pouring of water.

Witnesses to this gift:—The existing chiefs of the Ninety-six Thousand Country.

Moreover thus are the ślokas delivered by Manu:—Who so seizes upon land presented by himself or by another shall be born a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. To make a gift oneself is very easy, to maintain another's gift is difficult; but of making a gift or maintaining one, maintaining another's is twice as meritorious. The earth has been enjoyed by Sagara and many kings; according to their gifts of land so was their reward. Poison is no poison, a gift to the gods that is the fearful poison: for poison kills one man, but a gift to the gods (if usurped) kills sons and descendants. Who so maintains this will derive the merit thereof.

Written by *Viśvakarmma.*

LEWIS RICE.

BANGALORE, *October* 1878.

their family may have been the followers of Makkalasantána system. He further observed that should any of the Ballálás of the above paṭṭam (seats of honour) die, a corpse should be made in his stead in *Baikuṇṭe* (straw) and the people of the eighteen classes joining together, should burn this corpse; that there must be a Púmáḍa Kaimáḍa Neleupparige (a litter with stories, adorned with flowers, &c.,) and *Chaturánga,* (four kinds of troops), *Tórana* (string of leaves, flowers or sometimes cloths with ornamental needle-work hung across the highway), all sorts of musical instruments played upon, and drums beaten; and with all these they should scatter rice about—failing which they the eighteen classes of people will be in pollution, and that because it (the Baḷḷáḷá) is a spiritual preceptor and the people of the said classes are disciples (they) should observe the pollution as aforesaid.

Sixteen kaṭṭaḷes or rules.

1. It being asked that as there is only one girl (heir) in each family governed by the Aḷiyasantána rule, how would the line of the family continue for the future if the death of the husband of such girl should take place, Bhútáḷapáṇḍya declared that (in such case) the parents are not competent to give such girl to another person in marriage; but the maternal uncle and other members of the family may do so; that the parents are only to touch the Dháre Giṇḍi (a metal vessel with a tube on its side by pouring water from which a girl is given in marriage) while giving their daughter in marriage, and it should not be the custom with them to get (the girl married) by pouring water as aforesaid.

2. If in that (in the Aḷiyasantána family) a girl loses her husband, such girl is called a Buḍavaḷati. If the girl happens before she is wedded (a second time) to be pregnant by intercourse with another person of her own caste, Bhúṭáḷapáṇḍya declared that she may be given to such person in Buḍadháre marriage on receiving a fine from him. Bhúṭáḷapáṇḍya added that if the person is of a higher caste than the girl, she may be allowed to be kept by him, or, on the contrary, if he be of an inferior caste, the Baḷḷáḷás may sell such girl on exacting a fine from him.

3. If a husband goes to another country leaving the married girl alone, Bhúṭáḷapáṇḍya declared that she may after the expiration of five years (from such absence) be joined and

wedded to another person. He also said that if she be found to be pregnant in the absence of her husband, she may be placed in the keeping of her paramour provided he be of superior caste, or wedded to him, provided he be of the same caste (with her), or if he is of an inferior caste, she may be abandoned, fined and joined to such caste.

4. If, after such girl have brought forth three or four children subsequently to her marriage, the husband goes to another country, she cannot be wedded to another person. If she had had connection with a person of equal caste and proved to be pregnant before the return of her husband, she cannot be wedded. If in such case, the person be of an inferior caste she should be abandoned (excommunicated.)

5. Bhúṭáḷapáṇḍya recorded a rule to the following effect. If a married girl find her husband to be an adulterer, and if the latter find the former to be an adulteress, and so if the husband take her and deliver her over to her parents' house, she may be wedded to another person. If the husband will not have her again and take care of her on receiving another woman into his keeping, the members of her family may send for her from her husband and wed her to another person. Moreover, if (the husband) tease the wife by striking and abusing her as he likes, a reconciliation may be effected between them three or four times; but should there be a recurrence of disagreement among them even afterwards, the members of her family may send for her from her husband and get her wedded to another person.

6. If a girl shall arrive at puberty before marriage and become pregnant before marriage, such girl, as well as the person that caused such pregnancy, should be fined, and the girl may be given into the keeping of that person if he be of superior caste, or married to him if he be of the same caste; or abandoned if he be of an inferior caste; as declared by Bhúṭáḷapáṇḍya.

7. If a girl who arrived at puberty as aforesaid takes any body before her marriage and elopes with him, she may be married to him if he be of the same caste with her, or abandoned if he be of an inferior caste, or be allowed to be kept by him if he be of superior caste; as ruled by Bhúṭáḷapáṇḍya.

8. If a married girl leaves her husband and takes another of the same caste with her and elopes with him; she may

Vizimangalam.—I found the plan of the Jain Busti pagoda here similar in some respects to those of the Hindus. A column rose through the roof, a choultry faced the principal gateway which was surmounted by the usual propylon or tower of several storeys. In the middle of the courtyard encompassed by four walls stood the body of the pagoda consisting of an oblong stone-building with a flat roof. The entablatures of the exterior were ornamented with figures of Adi-Isvaren, the very image of Buddha, and seated like him cross-legged, in some places holding a bell in one hand, and in others seated under a chattra. There were also figures of the god canopied by the elevated trunks of two elephants, one on each side of him, men on elephants, miniature pagodas, men playing on various musical instruments, lions, men riding on lions and other animals, warriors on horseback armed with swords and shields, peacocks, female figures with their arms resting on their hips, the lotus, figures with a horse-tail punkah fanning a cross-legged image of Adi-Isvaren, figures in gothic niches. All these indicate the close connection of Jainism with Buddhism. Inside the pagoda the case is altered and there are manifestations of Hinduism in effigies of Krishna treading on the snake, of Ganesa, the five Pandus, Hanumanta, and other mythological beings; these occur chiefly on a cornice running round the top of the wall. At the northern end of the interior was a remarkably well executed image of Adi-Isvaren, the same, as far as I am capable of judging, as Buddha and seated like him cross-legged. Adjoining this image were five figures of human beings probably Rishies. Outside the pagoda is a deep well traditionally reputed to be the work of Bhima, one of the Pandus who, wanting water, struck the ground with his club (gada) and formed the well. This gada is clearly the same as the magical caduceus of Mercury, many attributes of the gada being similar to those of the caduceus. From what I saw in this Jain pagoda, and from what I have gathered

from other sources, I am induced to think the first Jains had been Buddhists who, yielding to the force of prejudice and persecution, were compelled to graft upon the original form of their religion, some forms of the Hindu worship, in order to save themselves from utter extermination. The name bestowed upon Jaina in this pagoda, viz., Adi-Isvaren, contains one of the names of Siva.

Palipollium.—Near the bungalow is a singular upright stone eighteen feet high. Mr. Oliver in his "History of Initiation" says: "The Druids did not worship idols in the human shape, because they held that the divinity being invisible, ought to be adored without being seen. But we are told that they did occasionally erect, like the primitive Buddhists of the east, in retired places, statues of Isis or Ceridwen which must have been gigantic stones, rough as when taken from the quarry, the Betula of the Eastern nations, which were ritually consecrated, and invested with peculiar and distinctive properties." Two miles further on in a field on the right hand side of the road I found a closed cromlech † and five cairns. The cairns were similar to some I found on the Nilgiris consisting of upright slabs placed in a circle round a large one lying on the ground. The upright stone, and the last mentioned antiquities are clearly of the same origin, and satisfy me I have not been in error in ascribing the earliest cairns of the Nilgiris, and the cromlechs there to the same founders. The present are some of the most palpable evidences of the former existence of Scythicism or Druidism I have seen in this country. The subjoined extract from "Notes on the Antiquities of Macclesfield," by J. Finney opportunely put in my hands, while engaged on this part of my manuscript, is a striking corroboration of my opinion regarding the Druidical origin of the cairns, and upright

† The closed cromlech seems to be the original of the altar tombs in our churchyards.

stone above mentioned." In a field behind Clulow Cross there is to be seen a stone circle about five yards in diameter, with a broad upright slab of gritstone placed in the centre of it. Mr. Sainter and his friends were highly gratified by the discovery, about three feet below the surface, of several pieces of charcoal, along with stones blackened by fire, and also a sepulchral urn which contained the burnt bones of a young child. The burial may be assigned to a very old date, probably prehistoric, or anterior to the period of the occupation of this country by the Romans. We may here notice also a very singular stone by the road-side in this neighbourhood, which is called by Archæologists " a Maenhir"—merestone, or longstone, which is also of ancient British origin." I have said in a former paper that many of the cairns on the Nilgiris contained apparent relics of Buddhism and accounted for this fact. The following description of the Buddhist cemeteries in Ceylon bears comparison with some of the cairns in Southern India. In the latter we see the flat stone covering the cist, environed by upright stones, in place of the pillars of the former. " In a Singhalese cemetery may be perceived a variety of miniature dagobas : if the little earthern mound raised over the ashes of the dead be encircled with a row of stones, we see the origin of the projecting basement, if the tomb be that of a headman or high priest we may find it cased with stone, and perhaps surrounded with a row of pillars : on all these we find an aewaria branch planted, which after taking root and shooting out its cluster of leaves gives the semblance of the spire, and its spreading termination."

Sankagiri drug.—This hill fort was once a place of considerable importance. Within the works are several tombs, one of Lieutenant Robert Waters, 25th M. N. I., who died in 1820 ; another to Lieutenant W. Ash, who died in 1808, and the name of Wilson Riviere I deciphered on another, he died in 1807. The slabs of some of the other tombs no longer remain, pro-

bably having excited the cupidity of the unscrupulous natives who appropriated them to their own uses.‡ Several pieces of iron ordnance repose on the site of the old arsenal. I took notice that Carron, 1792, was marked on the trunnions of some. On the summit of the Drug is a pagoda. Half way down the flight of steps leading to it is a musjid at the entrance of a cavern. Tradition proclaims that a Mussulman hermit occupied this place for some time, and in the sequel disappeared for ever inside, on account of which he was sanctified, and the musjid erected to his memory. He left behind him nothing but his foot-prints on the rock at the entrance. These foot-prints at the entrance of the cavern, I think, in reality are Buddhist emblems, and the place was probably in ancient times a small Buddhist cave temple; indeed, I am induced to believe that in many instances the foot-prints shown by the Hindus as marks of the former presence of a god, or celebrated rishi, indicate the site of former Buddhist places of worship, the foot-prints having been converted to their own ends by the Hindus. The account of the birth of Buddha states that Tapasvi-muni beheld two feet fixed on the head of the child, when he first saw him. Inside the fort is a pagoda to Vishnu under one of his thousand names. No one being present to hinder me I explored the building, and discovered in a choultry attached to it some mythological figures made of wood and ornamented with tinsel. One garuda, the bird that transports Vishnu in his aërial flights, reminded me of the Guru-Puck of Indo-Mahomedan folk lore, and of which it is the original. I wrote an article in "Notes and Queries," May 14th, 1864, tracing the origin of the European Fairy Puck to this Guru-Puck.

This part of the country after the fall of the Anagundi monarchy came into the possession of Jagaddeva, a polygar. Subsequently it passed into the hands of the Nabob of

‡ Read on page 171 the letter on this subject addressed by "Old Mortality" to the Editor.—G. O.

Cuddapah, and was afterwards subjected by Hyder. Many ancient coins and arms have been dug up at different periods. In a field between the travellers' bungalow and the Drug are three upright ancient stones, one of which I was induced to sketch regarding it as curious. I was told of some antiquities at Trichengodu, but had no time to visit them, the place being distant, the principal being a conical rock or shaft with a spiral ascent externally, devoted to the Lingam or Phallus worship. Such a rock would remind one of the Round Towers of Ireland which may be, like our May-pole, relics of the same religion.

Not far from the choultry lies an Erratic (?) block consisting of porphyritic granite and gneiss, having its angles rounded by attrition. The granite and gneiss appear as though cemented together in the cold state, no disturbance of the crystals along the line of junction being discernible. The lines of stratification of the gneiss, or the longer axes of its laminæ form an angle of about 45° with the granite standing vertically.

Wumalur.—A popular tradition proclaims that Rama halted his army at this place during the expedition to the south to rescue his wife Sita from the power of Ravana, king of Ceylon, and that he directed a temple should be here raised for his worship. The recent verification of the subject of the Greek Epic, the Iliad, by Mr. Schlieman's discovery of Troy, etc., and which had long been regarded as fabulous, encourages the hope that our great Indian Epic may also prove to be a "true history." Folklore, road-side traditions, and annotated town Puranas, might contribute to dissipate the obscurity which envelopes the Ramayana, and should therefore be examined when opportunity offers. The remains of a fort lie outside the town said to have been built by a polygar before the establishment of the Mysore dynasty. It has happened when heavy showers of rain have disturbed the surface of the ground about it, that silver fanams with

the image of a fish on some, and that of a tortoise on others, have been discovered. The fish is found on some of the Kurumba coins. During this journey I collected some small copper coins, on the obverse of some of which are severally, a peacock, horse, bull, Hanuman, antilope, and Krishna. Coins occur I believe corresponding to each epoch of the Vishnu Avatars. The Hindu Avatar coins possibly suggested to the Mogul rulers of Delhi the idea of the zodiacal rupees so much prized by collectors. At Tirumangalam is an old pagoda with many inscriptions on it which might afford much information.

Tapur.—Some pagodas are met with. There is one near Dimrakampatty, in front of which rises a pedestal supporting a round stone with a flat surface impressed with two human foot-marks reputed to have been left by Rama; I am disposed to connect this with what was related to me at Vumalur respecting the route of Rama. The frequent occurrence of small pagodas to Hanumanta, one of Rama's leaders, along this road, confirms the tradition of the expedition. Several interesting stone monuments of warriors stand near the pagoda.

Adamankotta.—This place takes its name from a fort now nearly level with the ground. Under a grove of high trees half way between the bungalow and the village on the left of the road, are four veraculls (monumental) stones in a line, with sculptures on them. Beyond these on the same side of the road is a ruined pagoda of an oblong form. The exterior has a cornice following the shape of the building upon which were figures similar in design to those I saw on the Jain temple at Vizimangalam. On other parts of the edifice I remarked single human figures seated cross-legged in niches. In a field near this edifice is a very remarkable sculptured upright stone, which was doubtless once the idol tenanting the *adytum* of the ruined pagoda. To me it seems to be a figure of Buddha or Jaina, and bears a striking resemblance

to the statue of that god at Sravana-Belgula. It is in an upright posture, its face has been struck off, as well as another part of the person too conspicuous in the forementioned naked statue. A snake, whose body appears behind the figure, raises and expands its seven heads over the head of it. From the summit of the stone is sculptured an umbrella.

Returning to the ruined pagoda I noticed on a plinth an inscription. There are some Hindu pagodas in this neighbourhood, one completely gone to ruin, presents an instance of the most pristine method of laying on a roof. Across the four angles of its square outline long blocks of stone are laid diagonally. The square hole necessarily left in the middle of the roof by the junction of the ends of these stones, is covered by other stones also laid diagonally across the hole. Smaller blocks are then laid on the others, until the roof is sufficiently high, when the aperture, I suppose, is closed by a single stone. I shall here endeavor to indicate by what means the Druidical objects in India, which I believe I was the first to bring to notice, (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, No. XXXI, 1844, "Remarkable Cromlech near Paliconda in the Carnatic," No. XXXII, 1847, "Antiquities Nilgherry Hills," and No. XII, December 1861, "On the Druidic Antiquities of the South of India,") were introduced into that country; but before I commence I am tempted to annex the subjoined extract from Bishop Caldwell's "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages," p. 528:—

"The resemblance of the barrows and their contents (with the cromlechs, &c.,) to the Druidical remains which are discovered in the ancient seats of the Celtic race in Europe, is too exact and remarkable to be accounted for on any other supposition than that of their derivation from the same origin. Hence the people by whom Druidical rites were introduced into India must have brought them with them from Central Asia; and this favors the conclusion that they must have entered India at a

very early period—a period, perhaps, as early as the introduction of Druidical rites into Europe."

Dr. Meyer, quoted in "The Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations," by Pritchard and Latham, page 380, writes that—

"The Celtic nation transported itself from Asia, and more particularly from Asiatic Scythia, to Europe, and to this country, by two principal routes, which it resumed at different epochs, and thus formed two great streams of migration, flowing, as it were, periodically. The one in a south-western direction, proceeding through Syria and Egypt, and thence along the northern coast of Africa, reached Europe at the Pillars of Hercules, and passing on through Spain to Gaul, here divided itself into three branches, the northern of which terminated in Great Britain and Ireland, the southern in Italy, and the eastern, running along the Alps and the Danube, terminated only near the Black Sea, not far from the point where the whole stream is likely to have originated."

This first route only I shall have occasion to deal with. Along its stream of migration we discover cromlechs and other Druidical remains, first in Circassia, where perforated cromlechs are spoken of by Bell; then in Palestine near the Jordan, (Irby and Mangel's Travels, Chapter VI); next in the northern part of Arabia where a monolithic Druidical temple similar to Stonehenge was discovered by Palgrave. Travelling in Egypt, Strabo saw the road covered with edifices composed like cromlechs of two unhewn stones supporting a third. Artemidorus, quoted by the same author, mentions that near Carthage, instances occur of three or four stones placed on each other in the form of an altar or table. In Algeria cromlechs abound. In the "Prehistoric Sepulchres of Algeria," by J. Flower, Esq., published in the International Congress of Prehistoric Archæology, 1868, page 204, is an account of an extraordinary megalithic tomb or cromlech, the capstone of which is 65 feet long, 26 feet broad, and 9 feet 6 inches thick, which enormous mass is placed

upon other rocks, which raise it between 30 and 40 feet above the surface, a height equal to that of the houses in the street I live in, and equal to it in width. This would seem to be the culminating exploit of the Celto-Scythic cromlech builders.

One of the migratory bands instead of pursuing the route along the coast of Africa, deviated from it, crossed Persia and Beluchistan,§ and eventually found its way to South India, generally called Dravida-Desa. The principal language of South India which was investigated early by Missionaries, Tamil, is related with the Scythian languages. In the south of India these bands settled and built cromlechs both in the plains and on the mountains. In the latter the ancestors of the Todas and other hill tribes built these structures on the Nilgiri and the Anamalai Hills.

The following extract from Colonel Ross King's work on the "Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills" is pertinent to the subject, and serves to dispel the idea that the Kurumbas of the hills were the builders of the cromlechs and cairns there existing :—

"This tribe is of another race from the shepherd Kurumbas, described by Sir Walter Elliot as having a distinct priesthood, and worshipping the god Bhyra. The Nilgiri tribe have neither cattle nor sheep, and, in language, dress, and customs, have no affinity whatever with their namesakes. . . . . . The circles are evidently regarded with veneration by the Todas, as well as by the Vadacas ; but it is difficult to elicit information concerning them. Though the former tribe neither use sepulchral urns nor erect monuments at the present day, they invariably burn the remains of their dead within a circle of stones, and afterwards bury them there, as will be hereafter described ; while

§ The Scythian Jits in the east of Beluchistan, very probably descendants of the Getae or Massagetae may have been associated with this band, so far as the right bank of the Indus, where they separated from it and settled.

the presence of the buffalo images, and the similarity in make and texture of the ancient urns to the modern pottery of their work-people, the Khotas, seem to indicate some connection between the Todas of past days and the remains in question."

The Rev. Mr. Schmid in a letter to the Editor, *Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. III, Part I, No. XII, alleges that, I have confined my theories respecting the diffusion of Scythicism to the Nilgiris solely. If he will refer to the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1844, he will find that I therein described a cromlech in the low country of the Carnatic, and spoke of the Celtic Scythians in India, three years previous to my paper on the Todas of the Nilgiris (1847). In the former paper I stated the peninsula of India was inhabited by a Celtic Scythian race, prior to the advent of the Hindus, and even glanced at their former existence in China, where in the island of Amoy a cromlech stands, or once stood.

To return to the route pursued by the early Scythian invaders of India. Colonel Meadows Taylor in his "Student's Manual of the History of India," says, Chapter VIII, page 40, "it may be assumed therefrom that a Turanian or Scythian race became settled in the southern portions of India, after an invasion or invasions by a more southern route than the Aryans, and that the prehistoric monuments may have been constructed by them and are memorials of their progress. Certain it is that in the purely Aryan and northern provinces of India, no such structures have been found. These are cairns, dolmens and cromlechs, huge rocks which have been placed in certain forms as temples, barrows and tumuli." I believe that this southern route lay along the Malabar Coast||

|| In 1829 or 30 I discovered near Navacollum in Travancore, the temple apparently Druidical, below described. Shrouded by overhanging trees, stood a semi-circular terrace cut from a projection in the side of a hill. It was reached from below by a flight of rude steps, and on it stood a small cromlech consisting of two stones supporting a third; the front of the terrace overlooking the foot of the hill was enclosed by a low wall (*vide* sketch).

where cromlechs are found, as far as the opening in the ghats at Palghatcherry through which they penetrated to the southern plains. In the Nilgiri and Anamalai mountains which lie on either hand of the gap, and in the country of Coimbatore we find the most numerous traces of their former presence, and proofs that there they fixed their first settlement in India, from which they subsequently radiated in various directions.

Udenhally.—There are some antiquities here worthy of notice. In a field adjoining the village lies a "house of a hero" or sculptured cromlech. On the back wall of it are two very singular sculptures which I have copied. The state in which they are would indicate a far greater antiquity than that assigned by the inhabitants to the edifice. A mile and a half from the village near a hill called Turnekonda Drug are some more cromlechs, one of which is very remarkable for its dimensions and its sculptured interior, which represent figures in martial costumes. In the same neighbourhood I found a vast number of perforated cromlechs¶ formed of four large flag stones, one side being pierced with a circular aperture, and all full of earth, the tops of the four walls, each a single stone appearing level with the surface of the ground, a fact attesting their high antiquity. With one exception they exactly correspond with the closed cromlechs I found on the Nilgiris, but all want the flag-stone roof. The Kakoon of the place assured me there were nearly two hundred of these curious structures. They varied in length being from nine to four feet. These antiquities present the aspect of a large city partly buried under the ground, or a large cemetery. From my examination of similar edifices on the Nilgiris I arrived at the conclusion they were ancient sepulchres. I regretted much I had no leisure to excavate any of them.

¶ Precisely similar to the perforated cromlech represented in Bell's "Circassia."

The natives call them as usual Panducoolies, and they are clearly the same as those from which has originated the story of the Jains having built stone-houses to escape the vengeance of Siva, who, however, says tradition, defeated the precaution by discharging a shower of fire and mud from the skies, which overwhelmed the buildings and their occupants. The back stone of the "house of a hero" ** near the village probably belonged to the same people who constructed the group of cromlechs. The rude figures sculptured on them are apparelled and armed in the manner we find prevailing amongst the earliest tribes of which we have any knowledge. I refer the curious reader to the sketch and my account of the "Closed Cromlechs" on the Nilgiris. The Kakoon told me he was once present at the opening of a barrow in the Chingleput District, on which occasion a very large and thick earthenware globular vessel was found, which contained the remains of a human skeleton supposed to have been buried in it in a sitting posture. I have elsewhere observed that skeletons in the same attitude have been found in the barrows of Europe and North America; and the Buddhists of Tibet inter the remains of a Llama in nearly the same attitude under a shrine.

Usur.—Among the antiquities at this place the pagoda is the most conspicuous; it is dedicated to Siva and said to have been built by Krishna Gandharva Raju.

As you ascend the stone steps up the side of the hill on the summit of which the sacred edifice stands, you tread on many ancient inscriptions and passing through the chief gate step over effigies of benefactors to the pagoda cut in the stone pavement. The posture of these figures clad in mail lying on their backs with their hands clasped upon their breasts, forcibly brings to mind the brass effigies of knights on the pavements of our English churches and abbeys. The unfinished

** A name applied by the natives in most cases to the sculptured cromlechs.

gateway at the top of the flight of steps has a very Egyptian character. In the town below the pagoda are many inferior swamy houses (mantapams), and sculptured cromlechs. A monument to a Sati is also curious. The railing of a flight of steps leading to the choultry and formed of the trunks of two elephants is remarkable. Some sculptured cromlechs in a field near the bungalow deserve attention. In the side of the Usur hill is a cave containing a Lingam. Before the Mysore kings assumed the government of this country Usur belonged to the polygar chief of Bangalore. I collected a few old copper coins here.

Ellavanka (from Bangalore).—Here is an old fort built by the Polygar Magady Kempe Gauda. In a field near the village are some veraculls (monumental stones) having representations on them of warriors fighting. The large reservoir near the village and a small temple standing upon its bank are believed to be the work of a Chola-Rajah.

Chinna Ballapur.—I counted no less than thirty-one veraculls standing along the right side of the road between this place and Nandidrug. Formerly many others stood here subsequently broken up by the ryots or by Tippu, who is said to have used the stone pieces when his shot was expended, during his conflict with Colonel Reade at Nandidrug. Many of the veraculls are buried under the soil. These monuments are well worth the attention of the curious and of photographers. The figures sculptured on them are dressed in hauberks of ring mail reaching nearly to the knees, and armed with spears, shields, daggers, swords, and bows and arrows. On my way to see the veraculls I observed many small images of Naga, and of the Matsya Avataram of Vishnu grouped together round pippal trees on the bank of a large tank. I was struck with the identity of this form of Vishnu with our fabled mermaids, and have no hesitation in saying that it is their prototype, brought in remote times from the

East to Europe. Let any one look at my drawing. Can he discover any difference? Is not the chakra in the right hand of Vishnu the looking-glass of the mermaid, and the teeth of the chank the comb? The peculiar head-dress of Vishnu has obviously suggested the flowing locks of the mermaid. There are many remains of Hindu architecture about the place, the ornaments of which are in a remarkably pure and tasteful style; I particularly admired the ruined entrance of a small pagoda, for the sculptures upon its pillars representing festoons of flowers springing from vases of very classical forms. I often lament my want of leisure for transferring to paper these vestiges of the former good taste and refinement in art of the early Hindus, and which are suffered to run irretrievably to ruin and oblivion, without obtaining a passing glance. As I progress northward, a marked change is apparent in the religious edifices of the Hindus; pagodas associated with figures in pottery of horses, and rakshasas have much disappeared, while the worship of Siva has greatly yielded to that of Vishnu, under various names, and of his subordinates. The worship of Hanumanta has prevailed from Salem northwards to this. Since leaving Bangalore I have seen but few pagodas; the places of worship consisting of insignificant square buildings without cupolas or towers, and of groups of images of Naga and Vishnu on flat stones. I was told of some religious edifices north of the Krishna, having pyramidal roofs rising step by step, to a small terrace on the summit, like the pyramids of Egypt, but they are insignificant in size. This is another example of the similarity in Hindu and Egyptian architecture to add to those in my article on "The Origin of Brahmanism," *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1861.

Baugapalle.—I found not far from this village an ancient pagoda built of a fine grey porphyritic granite, the crystals of

felspar well pronounced, some being two inches long. This edifice was built by a Rayalu of Pennakonda. The sculptures on the pillars are curious: amongst them I observed a sphinx with the bust of a female. In this part of the country, one occasionally meets with shrines to Saktis, or goddesses of the Evil principle, whose worship was extensively diffused prior to the introduction of Brahminism.

Pennakonda.—The hill rising over this town has some fortified lines connecting the fort with the works on the summit. Musjids, minarets, choultries, tombs, towers, stone pillars and other architectural remains on every side manifest its former consequence. It was one of the seats of the Anagundi sovereigns, after they were dispossessed, by the Mahomedans of Bijanuggur†† which being depopulated by the latter, the descendant of a race of powerful Hindu monarchs of Southern India, deserting the seat of his ancestors, maintained his government for some time longer at Pennakonda, whence being also driven by the Mahomedans, he sought refuge in some place nearer Madras. I have no doubt that Bijanuggur was the rich Indian city mentioned in the Arabian Nights.

At present ceremonies are performed in ten pagodas. There are two to Jaina. On the exterior of the one, now only used, is a figure of Jaina canopied by a seven-headed snake, and like Buddha seated cross-legged. In the court of this temple are two sculptured stones with defaced inscriptions. The sculptures on the two large pagodas inside the fort are most beautifully wrought and would not disgrace any collection. In beauty as well as finish they are equal in my humble opinion to some of the antiques in the museum of France and Italy. I was greatly surprised to find such

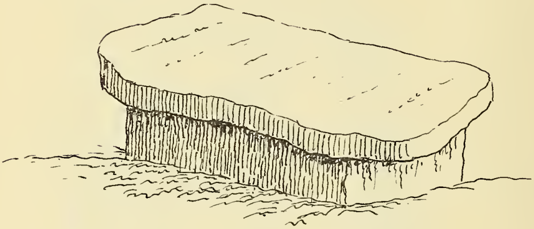
†† Ferishta's account of the fall of the Bijanuggur (Anagundi) empire is full of romantic interest.

MONUMENTAL STONE VERACUL.
(STONE OF THE HERO)
NEAR ANNORE.

II

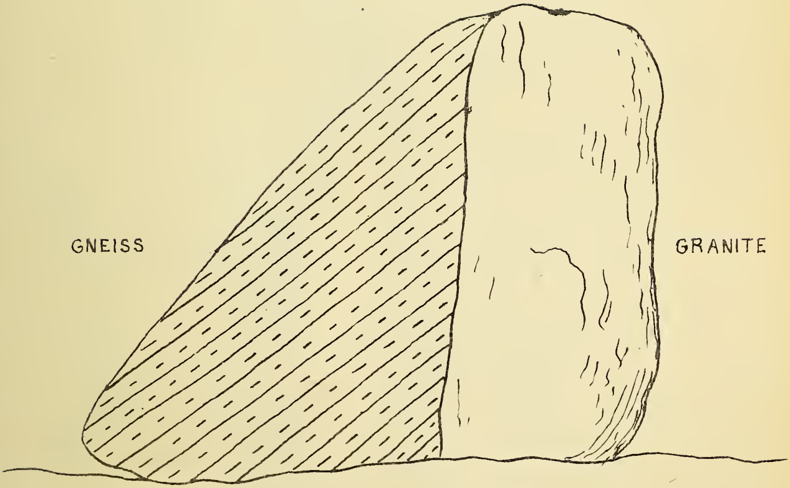
ANTIQUITIES AT PALIPOLIAM

CLOSED CROMLECH



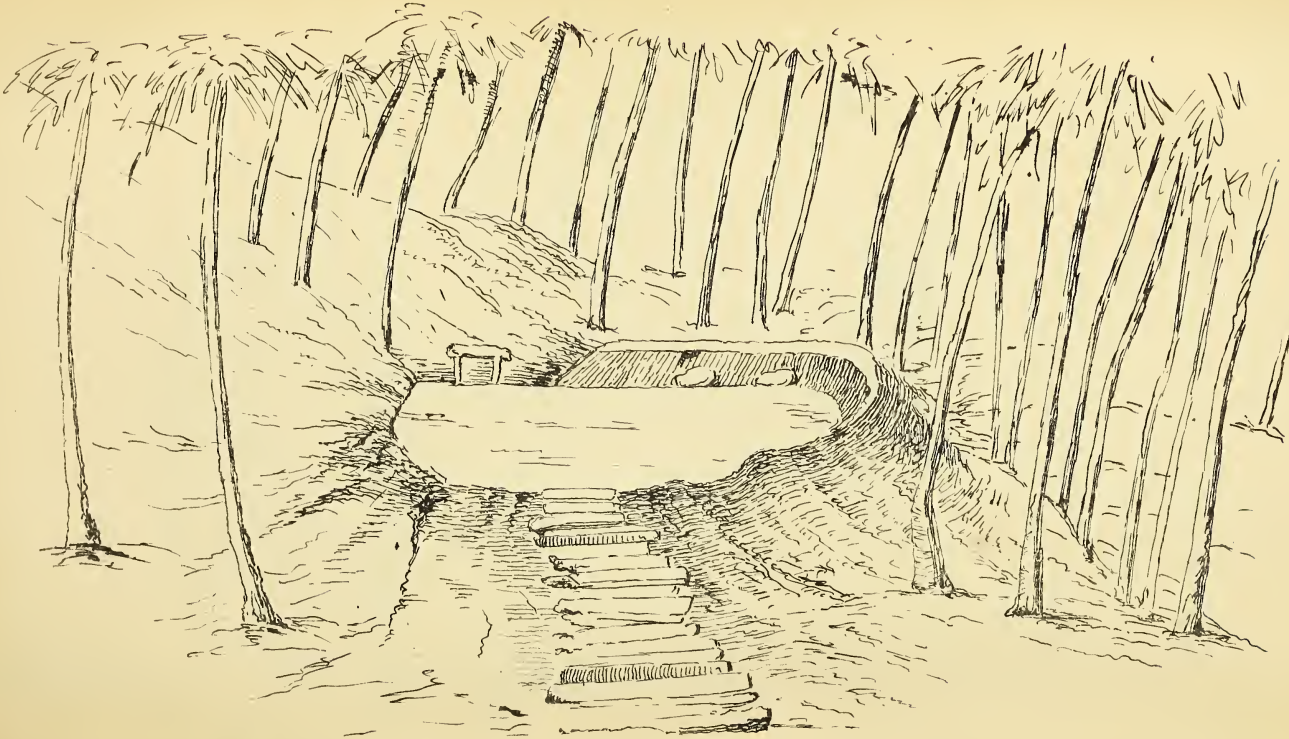
CAVIN

III



BOULDER COMPOSED OF GNEISS AND GRANITE,
AT SUNKERRY DROOG

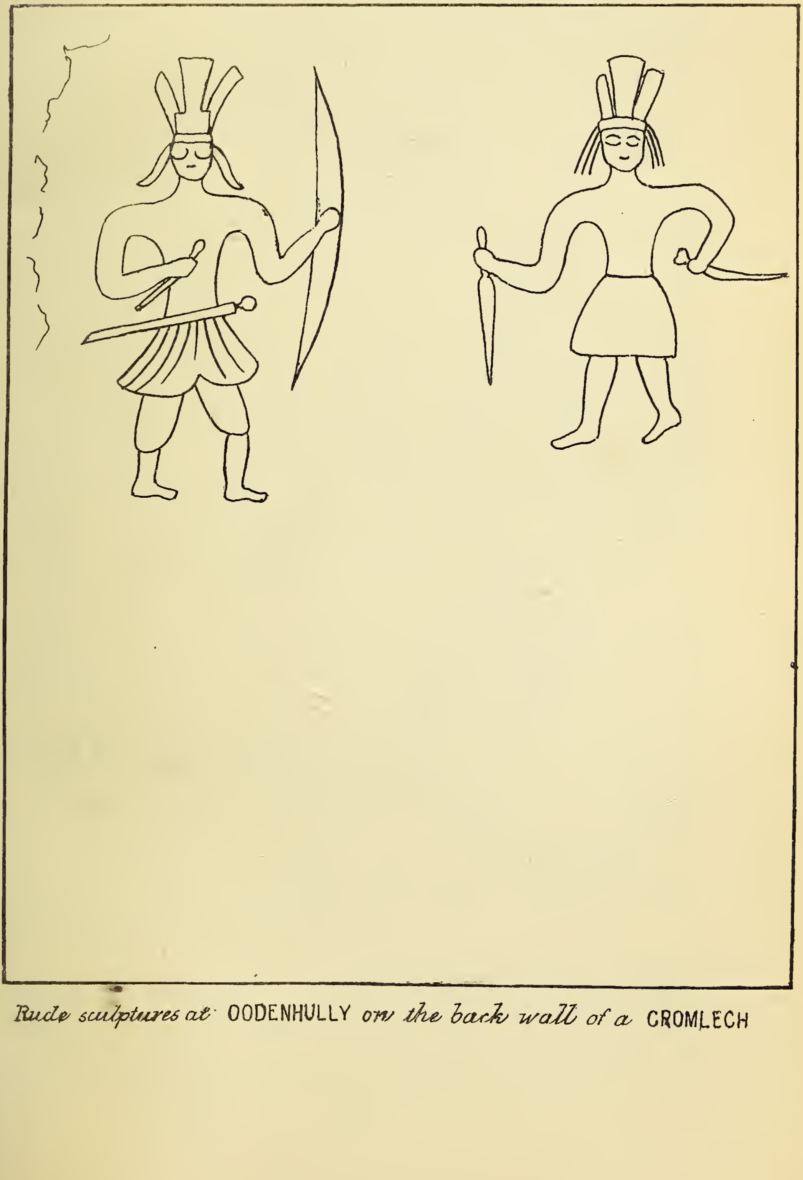
IV



IN TRAVANCORE

To face Adamancottah

BRITISH MUSEUM NATURAL HISTORY



Rude sculptures at OODENHULLY on the back wall of a CROMLECH

VI

BRITISH MUS
NATURAL H

Chakram = the looking glass
Chank = the comb

ORIGINAL From MERMAID
AT CHINNA BALAPOOR

beautiful specimens of art in this part of the country, they being the finest works of the kind I have seen in India. The exterior walls of the Vishnu pagoda are covered with bas reliefs representing subjects taken from the Ramayana. Some of the figures I am concerned to say were mutilated by the Mussalmans in former days. Were I now master of my time and actions, I would make a journey to this place and copy the sculptures. The boar and dagger, symbol of the Anagundi kings, occur amid them. In a recess at the north gateway of the fort is a colossal figure of Hanumanta eleven feet high, in *basso-relievo.* Near the bungalow rises a Garuda-stambham, a shaft cut out of one stone, forty feet high. Lying beside it is a half-buried figure of Garuda. Between the bungalow and the fort is a square tank, the four sides of which are flights of steps. Half way down a corridored choultry, following the outline of the square, overlooks the tank. The architecture of the choultries here is massive and heavy, like that of similar structures in Egypt. The castle on the side of the hill, the palace of the Rayalus, and the Mussalman buildings ought to be seen.

Takur.—Some miles before reaching this place I passed a village in which stood a round tower, such as are frequently met with in this part of the country, and which served as places of refuge for the inhabitants when attacked by Pindarees on other marauders. I saw at Kundi Anantapur a religious edifice belonging to the Kurumbas in which were two wooden heads fastened to a block, a female figure of the same material, and many figures of warriors and rakshasas is in pottery. All these images were painted in glaring colours and ornamented with tinsel.

Karnul.—A striking contrast is presented in the stately edifices of this Mahomedan town to the mean, disgusting, and filthy mud huts of the villages recently passed through. Here I behold regularly laid out streets flanked by the stone

walls of houses rising in some cases to a considerable height, musjids, old palaces, and buildings richly decorated in the arabesque style that characterized the architecture of the Moorish kings of Grenada. The quarters of the European officers are seated amidst buildings that strongly remind one of the Alhambra. My friend Captain Wood of the 29th occupies the upper storey of a part of the Nabob's palace. The walls of his sitting room are covered with arabesques representing flowers and trees rising from vases, rosettes, trellis-work, etc., in white chunnam. The doors and windows are in the Saracenic style, narrow, arched, and decorated profusely with running foliage and festoon work. I crossed the Tungabhadra by moonlight in a basket boat. As it glided slowly over the river, I could see by the rays of the moon illumining the scene, that the waters ran under, and washed the fortified walls of Karnul. Midway across the river I discerned some edifices like towers rising above the water, the use of which I was unable to ascertain. In the dim light they looked like the ruined piers of an old bridge.

Henry Congreve, Lieut.-Colonel, R.A.

II.—NOTE ON A RAISED BEACH AT ADEN.

During my residence at Aden in 1852, I first observed this Raised Beach which I apprehend had escaped the notice of geologists, and of which certainly no mention is made by Dr. Malcolmson in his Memoir on Aden, published in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. XVI, Part I, 1845. It is situated on the exterior slope, or sea-face of the rocky ridge connecting the main pass with the hill overlooking the Turkish Wall. This ridge rises from the beach forming the extremity of Aden harbour, and flanks the road leading from the main pass to the entrance of the outwork at the Turkish Wall, and to the best of my recollection, is about

forty feet high, having the Raised Beach about two-thirds up the side of it.

The Raised Beach consists of a narrow stratum of sand of inconsiderable length with shells of the same kind as the dead ones lying on the shore below, and it occupies the floor of a recess in the rock. At first sight it would seem that, subsequent to its elevation, it was partly overlapped by a volcanic eruption, but I am more inclined to believe that the rock projecting above and sheltering the sand and shells is a part of the original formation on whose slope the sea-beach rested, and into the hollows and caverns of which the sand and shells drifted where they have, strange to say, remained undisturbed for centuries, and been preserved from destruction, all the shells lying unbroken parallel to each other and on a bed of smooth unruffled sand. The upheaval must have been very gradual in its progress, and cannot be ascribed to any of the volcanic eruptions or earthquakes that have visited Aden. The mountain of Jebel Shumshum, semi-circular in shape, forming the peninsula of Aden, and consisting of volcanic products, is the crater of the first eruption, which was followed by a second, raising another crater within the first; the second crater is intersected by a very remarkable rent or ravine caused by an earthquake. I apprehend these disturbances took place prior to the gradual upheaval of the beach, the materials of which could not possibly have been subjected to any of those convulsions. Should this paper arrest the notice of any geologist at Aden, it is to be hoped he will make a more careful examination than I did, and ascertain whether the Raised Beach is continued in other localities. A careful search might also be made under the stratum of sand and undisturbed shells for any fragments of pottery or other proofs of the existence of man. Were such discovered we should obtain a clue to the period of time which has elapsed since the Raised Beach commenced to ascend.

P.S.—Since I left Aden many alterations may have taken place in the configuration of the rock in the process of fortifying the place, and the Raised Beach been swept away. If it has disappeared, a similar one may be found on the rocky hill, or island across the head of the bay. Undisturbed shells and sand about thirty feet above the sea-beach, and up the side of a volcanic formation, can only be accounted for by a very tranquil and gradual elevation of the land. I am at a loss to account for the shells enduring so long, and maintaining the same precise position, and for the sandy floor of the hollow remaining with such a smooth surface. A similar Raised Beach with shells of the same kind as those on the coast, were discovered in the isle of San Lorenzo near Lima, South America.

2nd P.S.—I make this opportunity subserve to state that in the year 1831 when on a shooting excursion near Palamkotta, in the South of India, I discovered on the surface of a low hill north-west of Shady Khan's Choultry about six or seven miles from Tinnevelly on the Madura road, some shells of a large kind of ostrea being about the size of a plate. I cannot now determine whether these shells were fossil or recent; but am more inclined to the former opinion. I do not possess the specimen I carried away with me, but am certain others were left behind. Since the above was written I met with the following passage in an old journal of mine; it imparts more importance to the above discovery at Shady Khan's Choultry than my memory first assigned to it: "In the range of hills near Shady Khan's Choultry, oceanic deposits occur. I picked up specimens of the bivalves, chiefly examples of the large ostrea; and remarked pebbles which had evidently been rounded by the action of water; the country below is sandy."

The natives have a tradition that the low country of Ramnad as far as Madura was once covered by the sea.

HENRY CONGREVE, Lieut.-Colonel, R.A.

To

THE EDITOR,

Madras Journal of Literature and Science.

DEAR SIR,

My duties leading me to various and sometimes remote parts of the Presidency, and my disposition being naturally gloomy, I have sought out and visited all the places within my reach in which Europeans had been buried. It occurred to me, previously to actual experience, that it would be interesting to note down and place on record all epitaphs bearing dates of the last century. I soon found that a very few pages would suffice for this purpose. Either few monuments were raised to the men who fell fighting with Lawrence and Clive and Dalton in our southern districts in the last century, or the memorials have for the most part perished. While Portuguese and Dutch and Danish tombs still survive the power of the nationalities they represent, and will, to all appearance, survive English rule in India, English tombs have been too often flimsy in material and neglected utterly after construction. Of late indeed the Madras Government has shown awakened interest in the subject, and old tombs are repaired after D.P.W. ideas of beauty; but the inscriptions had long before disappeared, and the object of keeping in order nameless monuments, hideous generally in design, is not obvious.

To make a collection of *Indian Epitaphs* of any value, therefore, the scope of my original idea must be enlarged; and I propose that you should print in your Journal, from time to time, (1) all epitaphs of date prior to 1800, (2) all of later date which record the deaths of persons remarkable either in their lives or in their deaths, and (3) all, of any date, found in remote spots now rarely visited by Europeans. There must be many who would gladly contribute to such a collection as I propose if you invited their aid. I venture to offer a few epitaphs of the third-class as a beginning.*

"OLD MORTALITY."

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* See Note on page 155. The Editor will be happy to receive any contribution on this subject from "Old Mortality" and others.—G.O.

IV.

ON THE CASTES OF MALABAR.

I.—ON THE NAMBURIS.

The narrow strip of land extending from Gokarnam in North Canara to Cape Comorin is known by the names of *Malabar*, *Keralam*, and *Malayalam*. The word *Malabar* in its modern application is restricted to that part of the land which lies between Native Cochin and Canara. The origin of this word is disputed.(1) Diversity of opinion exists with regard to the origin of the word Kerala also.(2) We may make two suggestions as to the origin of this word. It may be either from *Keralan*, one of the Perumals who ruled this land as a viceroy of the king of the adjacent country called *Chera* or *Sera* to which *Keralam* was subject, or it may be from *Chera* itself; for we see from old authorities that this ancient kingdom of Chera extended from Banvasi (modern Avanasi) to Kumari (modern Comorin), and that Malabar formed a part of this great kingdom. The word Kerala was known under various names such as *Keralam*, *Seram*, *Cheralam*, *Cheram*, *Keram*, &c.

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(1) According to one author it is derived from *Male*, the name of a port on this coast of India celebrated in times of yore for its commerce in pepper. The existence of this port is mentioned by Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Egyptian merchant who traded with India in the time of the Emperor Justinian.

Colonel Yule in his travels of Marco Polo gives at length in Vol. II, pp. 326, 359, and 360 the various names of Malabar and their origin. Information about this subject is also found in Bishop Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, p. 27, and in Lassen's Archæology of India.

(2) Dr. Day and others say that the word is derived from *Keram*, which is an abbreviation of *Nalikeram*, meaning cocoanut, and that the word *Keralam* was applied to this coast of India on account of its producing large numbers of cocoanut trees.

The word Malayalam is derived from the two words *Mala*, a mountain, and *ālam*, a district. The country is hilly which fact corroborates the meaning of the word.

The origin of the country is thus given in the Kerala Mahatmya, a Sanscrit work on *Kerala*. Śri Paraśurāma, one of the ten incarnations of Vishnu, gave " the whole earth " to the rishis as an atonement for his having destroyed 21 dynasties of Kshatriya kings.[3] Finding then that he had no place to live in, he, with the permission of Varuna, the god of the waters, reclaimed from the sea the land of Kerala.[4] He divided this land for the purposes of administration into 4 Rājyams. They were—(1), the Tulu Rājyam extending from Gokarnam to Perumpolai near Mangalore; (2), the Kuva Rajyam extending from Perumpolai to Putupattanam near Nilesvaram (the Nilacunda of Ptolomy) in South Canara; (3), the Kerala Rajyam extending from Putupattanam to Kannetti near Quilon; and (4), Mushika Rajyam extending from Kannetti to Comorin.

The whole country was at the same time divided into two *grāmās* for the Brahmins to live in, called the Tulu Grama and the Malayala Grama, the boundary being the river Chandragiri in lat. 10° 30′.[5] Each of these gramās was divided into 32 sub-divisions[6] :—

The 64 gramās were—

(1). Gōkarṇam.
(2). Gōmakūṭam.
(3). Kāravaḷḷi.
(4). Mallore.
(5). Eppanore.
(6). Cheppanore.
(7). Katālore.
(8). Kalānore.
(9). Kariachira.
(10). Paiachira.
(11). Trikkaṇi.
(12). Trikkata.

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(3) For an account of this contest between Paraśurāma and the Kshatriyas, see Wilson's Vishnu Purana, Bk. II, Ch. VII; Müller's Ancient Sanscrit Literature, p. 17.

(4) Kerala Mahatmya, 7th Adhyaya.

(5) The language of the country south of the Chandragiri is *Malayalam*; that of the north is *Tulu*. See Wilks' Mysore, Ed. 2, Vol. II, p. 5.

(6) For the legendary origin and other accounts given here, see the Kerala Mahatmya, the Keralotpatti, &c.

(13). Trikkampāla.
(14). Trichola.
(15). Kollore.
(16). Gōmayam.
(17). Vellār.
(18). Ventotu.
(19). Vencatām.
(20). Chengote.
(21). Kōtiśwaram.
(22). Manchiśwaram.
(23). Utuppu.
(24). Śankaranarayanam.
(25). Kottam.
(26). Sívalli.
(27). Mora.
(28). Pancha.
(29). Vittal.
(30). Kumāra mangalam.
(31). Ananthapuram.
(32). Karṇapuram.

These 32 sub-gramas belong to the Tulu Grama. The 32 of the Malayala Gramā are—

(1). Piennore.
(2). Perinchallore.
(3). Karikkatū.
(4). Isānamangalam.
(5). Ālathore.
(6). Karintholam.
(7). Triśivaperore.
(8). Panniore.
(9). Sukapuram.
(10). Perumanem.
(11). Parappore.
(13). Mūshikakulam.
(14). Iringālakuda.
(15). Atapore.
(16). Chengavotu.
(17). Uliannore.
(18). Kaluthanadu.
(19). Katappore.
(20). Ilibhyam.
(21). Sívapuram.
(22). Aviṭṭathore.
(23). Vennanadu.
(24). Katumuri.
(25). Kitangore.
(26). Kumaranallore.
(27). Kaviore.
(28). Ettumanore.
(29). Āṅmaṇi.
(30). Āṇmaḷam.
(31). Tiruvella.
(32). Chengannore.

In order to people this land Paraśurāma brought foreign Brahmins and settled them here. In the beginning they did not show any disposition to leave Malabar; but after some time they began to return to their native places. The Keralotpatti (a Malayalam work on Malabar) accounts thus for their leaving Malabar. As soon as the Brahmins were first settled in the country many serpents appeared in the land and began to trouble the Brahmins. They were afraid of the serpents and so began to leave the country. When Paraśurāma knew this he repaired to Brahma, the creator, and asked him for his assistance. Both of them came to Malabar and ordered the people who were there at the time not to quit the country. The language of the land was then changed and the people were commanded to "wear their top-knot or Kuduma on the top of the head somewhat forwards, instead of hanging down from the back of the head as is usual among the Hindus of the east countries."[7] Another

(7) For a different and detailed account of the same story, *see* Dr. Day's "Land of the Perumals," pp. 39-41.

account of the same story is thus given in the Keralotpatti: "The ceremony of changing the top-knot or Kuduma took place at Gokarnam before the Brahmans were brought to Malabar a second time. The object of Paraśurāma in changing the Kuduma was to prevent these Brahmins from returning to their native country. It was considered by the inhabitants of Paradeśa a disgraceful thing to change the top-knot, and so these people fearing the ridicule which they would be subjected to, never went back. Paraśurāma now conciliated the serpents, ordered the Brahmins to consider them as deities and offer them Pujas."[8]

After having thus peopled the country Paraśurāma gave it to the Brahmins to be kept exclusively for the support of temples and other religious establishments. To this very day Malabar is distinguished as the *Karma-Bhumi* or the land of good works for the expiation of sin.

These Brahmins were to be henceforward known as Numbuthiris. Besides this change Paraśurāma introduced new laws and regulations, new manners and customs. These last mentioned *Achārās* are called *Anāchārās*; for these *Achārās* are not found to exist among any other nation or people.

Among the many new rules introduced now there was one which said that only the eldest male member of a Namburi family should marry. On account of this rule it was found necessary to provide the others with partners. For this purpose Paraśurāma brought from Svarga (Heaven) females of three classes to Malabar—(1) Deva Strīs, (2) Gandharva Strīs, and (3) Rakshasa Strīs.

For the government of the land Paraśurāma appointed certain Brahmins as rulers. This system was called Āḷicha-

(8) I think this accounts for the fact of having a *Sarpakkavu* (a place filled with trees for the serpents to live in) in every compound in Malabar. In certain seasons of the year pujas are done in these places. If these pujas are neglected the belief is that the serpents will get angry and thus cause trouble to the family.

vattam. For some years all went on well; but when the Brahmins quitted the country this system was abolished and Paraśurāma went to the adjoining country of Chera and brought down kings to rule in Malabar. Each king was to rule for a period of twelve years, and hence the system was called a *Vyalavattam.* Thus there reigned in Malabar 21 kings for a period of 252 years. The last of these kings stole all the crown jewels and went away to his own country. The Brahmins now appealed to Paraśurāma who, in order to prevent such a thing in future, established certain royal houses to rule the land. After some time these houses becoming extinct, recourse was again had to the old system of bringing rulers from the adjoining country of *Chera.* These new rulers were called Perumals (viceroys). The first Perumal was called *Kōya Perumal.* It is said that there were many Perumals before "the great Cheraman Perumal" who was known to the early Arabic merchants. On the death of this Perumal the country was divided among his relatives and officers.

The above historical account of the early days of Malabar, though filled with many legends, is not without value.

As I have already mentioned, we have got reliable evidence to prove that Malabar formed one of the divisions of the ancient kingdom of Chera. It is therefore possible that the kings of Chera sent viceroys (Perumals) to the distant places of their kingdom, and it may also be probable that the term of office for each viceroy was fixed for a period of twelve years. These viceroys were called 'Cheraman Perumals.' The general belief that there was only one Cheraman Perumal who lived about 350 A.D. is not founded on fact. True, there was a Perumal called Bhāskara Ravi Varma who was the last of the Perumals who ruled the country. This Perumal was known to Thomas Cana, and it was this Perumal who granted lands to the Syrians and Jews of Cochin.

But I do not think that this last Perumal was the only one, who was called Cheraman Perumal; for we find a 'Cheraman Keralan' as the name of one of his predecessors. The account given in the vernacular may be correct for aught we know. There might have been twenty-one kings who ruled for 252 years. But what became of the country after the death of the last Perumal? Who ruled the country before these twenty-one kings? These are questions which cannot be satisfactorily answered with the scanty materials at our disposal. But I venture to think that the ancient history of Chera, Chola and Pandya might throw much light upon the subject. As Malabar was a part of Chera, the ancient history of this country will be quite sufficient to give us some knowledge of Malabar.

Now coming from this digression we see that after the great Cheraman Perumal's death the country was divided by his chiefs into two or three parts. The capital of this last Perumal was Tiruvanchikulam, a place near Cranganore.

It is evident from the Sāsanams found in the possession of the Jews and Syrians of Cochin which are published in the 13th Vol. of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, and to which we have already referred, that at the time of the "great Cheraman Perumal" there were other rulers in Malabar, and that this Cheraman Perumal was not the sole ruler of the country. In these Sāsanams we see the names of certain other chiefs mentioned as witnesses to the grant made by Bhāskara Ravi Varma. The statement of the Keralotpatti, viz., that Cheraman Perumal divided 'the whole Malabar' among two or three of his chiefs is therefore incorrect.

According to the Jāti Nirnaya, a work treating on the various castes of Malabar and supposed to have been written by Śankarāchārya, there are 72 castes. But among these 72 the Kshatriyas are not included. There are only three

families who are of this caste in Malabar. They are known by the names of (1), the Trippapore Svaraupam; (2), the Perumpatapil Svaraupam; and (3), the Kola Svaraupam. The first represents the royal family of Travancore, the second that of Cochin, and the third that of Cherakel. Some of the descendants of this third house are known by the names of Koil Pandāras, Koil Tampurans, Tampāns, Tirumilpadus, &c.

According to some, there are no Vaisyas in Malabar, while, according to others, there are people of this caste in Wynád. On account of this doubt we don't see the Vaisyas included among the 72 castes given in the Jāti Niṇṇaya.

It is very necessary not to confound the Malayali Brahmins with the Brahmins of the other parts of India who may be seen in great numbers, at the present day, all over the country.

The 72 castes are thus divided; eight classes of Brahmins, two classes of Nūna jātis, twelve classes of Antarāḷa jātis, eighteen classes of Sudras, six classes of artizans, ten classes of Patita jātis, eight classes of Nīcha jātis, and eight classes of extra jātis.[9]

The eight classes of Brahmins are :—

(1). Tamprākal.
(2). Ashta Grahathil Ádhian.
(3). Vis'ishta Brahmana.
(4). Samanya Brahmana.
(5). Jāti Matreyan.
(6). Sānketiken.
(7). Śāpagrasthan.
(8). Pāpishthan.

There are sub-divisions among these. As it may be of interest to many of my readers, I shall here give the various sub-divisions and privileges of these classes.

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(9) The extra jātis are not included in the following sloca according to which is the division :—

അഷ്ടൌഹിവിപ്രാദ്വൌന്യൂനാദ്വാദശൈവാന്തരാളികാഃ അഷ്ടാദശസ്സ്യുശ്ശൂദ്രാഃഷൾശില്പിനഃ പതിതാദശനീചാഃ പൃഥക് ചത്വാരശ്ചതുഷ്ഷഷ്ടിർഹിജാതയഃ

quoted in a Mala work.

The first class Tamprākal. They have no sub-division. Their privileges are—(1), Bhadrāsanam, or the chief seat in an assembly; (2), Brahma Sāmrājyam or Brahminical sovereignty; (3), Brahma Varchas or holiness resulting from the study and observance of the Vedas; and (4), Sarvamānyam or universal respectability. At the present day there is only a single family in the whole of Malabar who are of this class. They are called the Āluvānchery Tamprākal.

The second class has also no sub-division. Their privilege is to attain beatitude without the due performance of Yāgās (sacrifices).

The third class contains three sub-divisions. (1), *Akkithiri* or those who have performed the ceremony called *Agnichayana;* (2), *Somāthiri* or those who have performed the *Somayága;* and (3), *Atithiri* or those who have performed the ceremony called *Adhana.*

There is nothing special to be noticed in the fourth class.

The next class is divided into four sub-divisions:

(1). The Ashtā Vaidyan or 8 physicians.

(2). Those who have become soldiers.

(3). Those who are either physically or mentally incapable of reading the Vedas.

(4). Those who have become the slaves to passions, and hence do not read the Vedas.

The Sānketikas who form the next class have 6 subdivisions; they are known at the present day as Emprāns.

1. Akkaradeśi.
2. Ikkaradeśi.
3. Trippuni thuradeśi.
4. Tiruvalladeśi.
5. Carnātacadeśi.
6. Toulan.

The next class comprise those who are not permitted to read the Vedas. The cause of this is their doubting the identity of Śri Paraśurāma.

The eighth class has 5 divisions:

(1). Those who received dānam (gift) from Paraśurāma and took upon themselves Paraśurāma's sin.

(2). Those who gave permission to the death of Bhutarāya Perumal (one of the early viceroys who ruled Malabar).

(3). Those who killed the above mentioned Perumal.

(4). Ilayathús (the priests of Sudras).

(5). The inhabitants of Pannior Grama who removed the Varāha Mūrti.

The two classes of Nūna jātis deserve no special mention.

The twelve classes of Anlārāḷa jāti[10] are—(1) Atikal, (2) Pushpakan, (3) Nampi, (4) Puppalli, (5) Pisharoti, (6) Variyar, (7) Chakkyar, (8) Nampiar, (9) Tiáttuṇṇi, (10) Kurukkal, (11) Pítāran, and (12) Nāttupattan.

Of the eighteen classes of Sudras the Keriatil Nairs occupy the foremost place. The cause of this is their descent from the first of the three classes of females brought to Malabar by Paraśurāma. Their peculiar privilege is that they need not serve the Brahmins.

The remaining seventeen classes are obliged to serve the Brahmins. They are—

(1). Illakár.
(2). Svarūpakkār.
(3). Pādamangaḷam.
(4). Tamulpādam.
(5). Itacheri Nair.
(6). Mārān.
(7). Chempukotti.
(8). Ōtathu Nair.
(9). Paḷḷichhan.
(10). Matavan.
(11). Kalankotti.
(12). Vattakkātan.
(13). Ashtikurichhi.
(14). Chetti.
(15). Chālian.
(16). Veluthetan.
(17). Velukkatadavana or Kshavurakkāvan.[11]

(10) Of the twelve Antarāḷa jātis some only have the Brahminical thread. The general name of the Antarāḷā jāti is Ampalāvāsi or those who live in the pagodas, thus showing the nature of their duty which is to serve in the temples. The two Nuna jātis and the twelve Antarāḷa jāti occupy a position midway between the Brahmin and the Sudra.

(11) The four castes, *Chetti*, *Chalian*, *Veluthetan* and *Kshavurakkāran* though included in Sudras are yet not allowed to touch them. *Chetti* is merchant, *Chalian* weaver, *Veluthetan* washerman, and *Kshavurakkāran* barber.

The six classes of Artizans are:

1. As'āri (Carpenter).
2. Murs'āri (Brazier).
3. Kallas'āri (Stone mason).
4. Thattan (Goldsmith).
5. Kollan (Blacksmith).
6. Irichhakollan (Blacksmith).[12]

The ten classes of Patita jātis are:

1. Kaṇiár.
2. Vilkurup.
3. Kurup.
4. Thoal Kurup.
5. Velan.
6. Pánan.
7. Paravan.
8. Elavan, Chogan[13] or Thyan.
9. Mukkavan.
10. Vālen,

The eight classes of Nícha jātis are:

1. Pariah.
2. Pulaya.
3. Nayadi.[14]
4. Uḷḷatan.
5. Kurumpar.
6. Malayar.
7. Vélān.
8. Kaniyar.

The eight extra Jatis are—

(1). Ammomars, the inhabitants of Panniore Grama.
(2). Nampiti with Brahminical thread.
(3). Do. without do. do.
(4). Putuvāḷ.
(5). Pilāpilly.
(6). Sāmanthan.
(7). Karivelathu Nair.
(8). Vellalars of Nanjnad.

Though Paraśurāma brought many people into Malabar, yet it was the great Śankaráchárya who divided them into

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(12) Of these six classes only the goldsmith and the brazier can approach the Sudra without pulluting him.

(13) The Shānnars of South Travancore belong to this class. In Calicut these people are called Thyars, in Cochin and some parts of Travancore Elavans and Chogans, and in South Travancore Shānnars. Their duty is to draw toddy, and they gain their livelihood by their profession.

(14) " In Malabar a Nayadi defiles a Brahmin at a distance of seventy-four paces, and a Nair though himself a Sudra would shoot one of these degraded races if they approached too near."—Chips from German Workshop, Vol. II, p. 356.

various castes and established rules and regulations for their conduct. I do not mean to say that caste rules were not observed in Malabar before Śankara's time; but it was he who divided the 4 castes into 72, framed the rules, and drew the line of demarcation between the various castes, and settled all disputes. The Játinirṇaya, a work (as the word itself means) treating of the various Jatis or castes is attributed to him. He is best known as an author and as a philosopher. There are many opinions regarding the date of his birth. Professor Wilson places him in the 8th or 9th century A.D.; Dr. Burnell says that Śankara lived between 650 and 740 A.D. The existence of a Grantha called *Śankaravijayan* supposed to have been written by Śankara's pupils seems to settle the doubt. It is said in this work that he was born in the year 14 of the era of Vikramaditya, and that he died at the age of 32 in the month of Vaisakha, on the 12th lunar day of the bright lunar fortnight in the year 40 of Vikramaditya. This places him about 44 years before Christ.

Śankara was born at a place called Kallady in Travancore, where his mother's house still exists. He was the offspring of adultery for which his mother Śri Mahadevi was expelled from her caste. Though he laid down laws and rules, yet he seems not to have been very popular in Malabar. When his mother died nobody gave assistance in herfuneral. He had to burn the corpse alone assisted by theSudras.

The popular belief to this day is that he was the son of Siva.[15]

In the course of his travels he founded many religious houses or *Mattams*, one of which still survives, and is known as the *Śringeri Mattam.* He died at *Badari* near the Himalayas, aged 32. It is said that a Namburi, to which

(15) Since writing the above we have come across a pamphlet in which a more detailed account of Śaṅkara's life is given. We reserve it for a future paper.

caste Śankara belonged, has been always the officiating priest of *Badari.*

After having thus summarised the various classes of people in Malabar and given a brief account of the man who made their religious laws and regulations, we shall now speak a little more particularly of some of them. First the Namburis. From the description of the various classes of Brahmins it will be seen that there are two divisions of Namburis of whom one is allowed to read the Vedas and the other not. The former comprise two *Sanghas* (collection) known as the Triśivapárore Sangha and the Tirunávayil Sangha. There were two other divisions known as Choura-koor and Panniar-koor. Each of these divisions had a *Vādhyan* (spiritual preceptor) who lived at Tirunāvāyel and Trichur, and under these vādhyans there were 6 *Vydīkens* (Vedic judge), *Mīmamsakkars* (expounders of spiritual laws), and *Smarthens* (professors of spiritual laws). For educating the boys of this class in the Vedas there are many schools in various parts of Malabar. The teachers in the Vedas are called Oyikkans.

Every Namburi boy whether he belongs to this class or not is obliged to perform the ceremony of Samávarthanam before his 16th year. The age for this ceremony varies according as the boy is a follower of the Rig or the Yajur, or the Sama Vedas. Among the followers of the Rig Veda there are two sects called Assulayen and Koshidakan respectively. The first perform the ceremony after the boy has attained his 15th year. The Koshidakan performs it before the boy is 13. The followers of the other two Vedas perform the ceremony after the boy has attained his 12th year.

The other class who are not permitted to read the Vedas have no definite rule, but they follow one or the other of the above classes.

As soon as the *Upanayanam* or the "ceremony of the cord" is performed (which is generally done before the boy attains his 11th year), the boy wears a belt made of the skin of a black antelope. This is removed in his 16th year, when he is supposed to enter his manhood. Until this time he wears no cloth and has all the privileges of a Brahmachari.

The Namburi females, like their sisters of the other parts of India, are an illiterate class of people. They cannot even count more than 20, for they have only 20 fingers and toes.

The name of a Namburi female before she comes of age is Unnikidávu; from this time to her marriage she is known as Peṅkidávu. If she remains unmarried after she has come of age she is called Nangapillai. After her marriage she is called Akáyilullavar or Āthenmār or Akathuḷḷaḷukaḷ.

When these females attain the age of puberty they are not allowed to see anybody except their immediate relatives. Whenever they go out they are attended by a Śūdra maid "Vishali" and they cover, like the Mahomedan women, their whole body except the face, which is hidden from the view of strangers by a large kadjan umbrella.

There is no special age for marriage. They are allowed to marry after they attain their womanhood. This is one of the marked distinctions between the Brahmins of Malayala and Paradeśa.

The marriage of a female after she has attained her womanhood is always attended with great loss to the father or to her relatives who are her guardians; for, a large dowry should always be given to the bridegroom, if the female has come of age. Many females die unmarried on account of this custom. Though certain provisions have been made to meet a question of this nature, yet on account of poverty there is many a Namburi family where there are grown up unmarried females.

The Namburis do not allow widow marriage. The custom of Sati does not prevail amongst them. There is not a single

instance of this inhuman custom to be found in the ancient history of Malabar. This is one of the Anāchāras. The widow does not get her head shaved after the death of her husband. The only distinction of a widow is that she does not wear ornaments for the remainder of her life.

The usual ornaments worn by Namburi women are—a pair of golden earrings of a peculiar shape and make, a string of neck ornaments known as Thalikuttam, and a number of brass bracelets.

There are four days of marriage ceremony for the Namburis. On the first day the tying of the *tali* takes place. As soon as this is done some people take their wives to their Illams (houses). The entry of the wife in her husband's house is called *Kutyiruthal.*

Between the 7th and 9th months of a woman's pregnancy a ceremony called *Pumsavanam* is performed by the husband. The principal part of this ceremony consists in *homas* (sacrifices) in the *Oupāsanāgni* or the fire which had been lighted and kept unextinguished from the sacrificial fire of the first day of the marriage. The object of this ceremony is the good of the child. This is done owing to the belief that if the female or her husband perform sacrifices and pray the Almighty the female will have a child born to her under a good constellation.

The rules regarding chastity are very severe. When after careful inquiry it is found that a female has violated her chastity she and the adulterer are excommunicated.[16]

It is a curious fact that the eldest brother of a family is alone allowed to marry. The object of this law is to secure the family property intact. The question which naturally arises here is this : " If only the eldest member is allowed to marry how are the other brothers to gain heaven since they

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(16) For a detailed account of this subject see M. P. Shungoonny Menon's work on "The History of Travancore," pages 76–78.

who have no male children (Putra) cannot gain heaven according to the Hindu religion." The question is thus answered by the great law-giver Manu: "If there are more than one male child to a father, and only the eldest of them begets a son, then this son is alike the son of his own father as well as the brothers of the father, and is therefore sufficient to perform the Sraddha of his father's brothers and deliver them from the hell called *Put*.[17] It is upon this rule that this law is based.

Some of the other laws in connection with the same subject may be noticed here—

I. If the eldest brother has no male issue by his first wife he can marry again. But this fact does not allow the other brothers to marry.

II. If the eldest brother dies before he begets a son the next brother is permitted to marry.

III. In violation to the rule that only the eldest brother shall marry, if a younger brother marries, this marriage will not be considered invalid.

IV. If a husband finds his wife barren he can marry again.

V. If a man finds himself poor and hence unable to give in marriage his daughters or sisters, as the case may be, he is allowed to marry them to some family and in exchange marry himself the females of the house to which he marries the female members of his house. If a man has already three wives he cannot marry any more according to the Dharma Sastra. In such a case his younger brother is allowed to marry in exchange.

These laws are observed to the present day.

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(17) ഭ്രാതൄണാമെകജാതാനാമെകശ്ചെൽ പുത്രവാൻഭവെൽസൎവ്വെതെ തെന പുത്രെണപുത്രിണൊ മനുരബ്രവീൽ.

The Namburis exert great influence over the other inhabitants of Malabar. The chief reason of this is their belonging to the highest class of the Malayalis. The Sudras and other castes treat them with great respect and veneration. The more superstitious sometimes drink the water with which the Namburis wash their feet at the ceremony called *Kālkalikichutu* (feeding the Brahmins after washing their feet). The Namburis are addressed in terms of the greatest respect and sometimes servility.

The Namburis are a quiet and peace-loving people. They cannot be called an industrious race. They are all thorough conservatives because they find it to be to their own advantage. They are always very clean. They constantly bathe and change their dress which consists of a piece of cloth worn round the loins hiding the lower part of the body.

We have thus cursorily glanced at some of the manners and customs of the Namburis. On some future occasion we shall return to the same subject.

K. P. Sankara Menon, B.A.

(*To be continued.*)

V.

ON THE ANCIENT COMMERCE OF INDIA.[1]

The commerce of every country, especially the commerce of a country so ancient, so cultivated and so renowned as India is, possesses not only an intrinsic political economic interest, but is also of considerable geographical and ethnological importance. By examining the commercial records of a nation we begin to become more intimately acquainted with the real inner life of the nation, than by merely studying its external political history with its wars and treaties. The commencement of civilization indeed is the starting point of trade. New and until then unknown wants are first felt and require to be gratified. This desire can only be realized by exchange of articles belonging either to persons of the same community or to different tribes or nations. The demand for an article creates its supply; the more intense becomes this demand, the more refined the taste; the greater the quantity the better the quality of the object in question. To promote intercourse between nations and to provide for the transmission of goods, roads on land and on sea need to be discovered or constructed, and for the conveyance of men and their chattels vehicles and ships must be built. Thus in supplying the requisite necessaries of life and improving the desired commodities, the human mind becomes inventive. Art and science follow the track of trade.

(1) This lecture was delivered in the Government Central Museum at Madras in 1876.

It is my intention to give you only a few rude outlines of Indian commerce in general; the subject is too large, too intricate, and too difficult to be dealt with, to allow here of a detailed and circumstantial description. Besides this, the material for a complete survey of the commercial relations of India has not yet been gathered, and I am afraid, will never be satisfactorily collected, not only because much of the past is irretrievably lost and will remain for ever wrapped in darkness, but, also because the Hindus, though well aware of the profitable nature of commerce, have not committed, and as a rule do not commit, the history of their commercial pursuits to posterity. Except a few occasional allusions, here and there, in different works, Indian literature keeps silence on this subject, and were it not for the writings of foreigners, or for the remains of olden times, which have survived and been preserved, our knowledge would be more limited still. Eminent scholars have done much to throw light on this important, but very obscure matter, and my revered teacher, the greatest Indian Archæologist of our day, the late Professor Lassen, of Bonn, has striven hard to explain many prominent occult points.

Before beginning to discourse on the commerce of India, I must draw your attention to the fact that, long before the Aryans came to India, that great race which is generally described as and known under the name of Turanian, had founded empires throughout the old world. The home of the Turanians is assumed to have been the country round Lake Aral. Thence they spread over the greatest part of Asia, reigning there paramount for at least 1500 years.

It is established now, beyond any doubt, through the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, that the Turanian empires had advanced to a high degree of culture. This civilization, though tainted with strange materialism, proved itself nevertheless able to develop to a high degree of perfection certain branches of art and of science. To these Turanians

who differed much among each other in idiom belong also the Dravidians of India of our days, who in those times occupied Ariana and Persia. In Europe, these Turanians appear to be represented by the Esthonians, and in many places of Western and Central Asia, they form the substratum of the population, while they supplied in China the ground work of the civilization of the Celestial Empire.

A branch of the descendants ascribed to Ham, emigrated early from Asia to Africa and founded the Empire of Egypt, while others, remaining in their native continent, established there famous kingdoms. In the plains of Shinar there lived together and became amalgamated to a mixed population, the Shumir and Akkad. Shumir is the ancient name of Assyria and the Shumir were the inventors of the cuneiform character. The old Mesopotamian sovereigns called themselves Kings of Shumir and Akkad. The Shumir had originally settled in the north, while the Akkad lived more in the south, their country being washed by the waters of the Persian Gulf. Their name is mentioned in Genesis x, 10. "And the beginning of his (Nimrod) kingdom was Babel and Erech, and Akkad and Kalneh in the land of Shinar." They were the neighbours of those Kushites, who dwelt along the seashore, and whose abodes extended from the Straits of Babel Mandeb to Malabar. The Akkad were the first, as far as historical evidence goes back, to navigate the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. The coast of the Persian Gulf was also the ancient home of the Kanaanites, a part of whom became celebrated in after-time under the name of Phœnicians. The shores of Arabia, Persia, Beluchistan and Western India were thus at an early period inhabited by industrious and enterprising nations, some of whom, as the Akkadians, and more so still the Phœnicians, became famous sea-faring people.

About 2500 years after the Egyptain empire had been established, *i.e.*, 2500 B.C., and after the Akkadian dynasty

had reigned for a long period in Babylon the Aryans invaded Chaldaea, and pressing at the same time on the Kanaanites of the Persian Gulf and the Dravidians in Persia, drove the former towards the North-West and the latter to the South-East to India. By degrees the Aryan invaders settled in the conquered country but the history of their conquest, of their establishment, and of their national adventures, is up to now a sealed book, while we are well informed of contemporary and previous Egyptian and Babylonian history.

The Aryan immigration to India proceeded slowly, the new comers had most probably to overcome the spirited resistance of the old inhabitants. They did not go beyond the frontiers of the Punjab till the fifteenth century before Christ, the Brahmanic influence spread gradually to the South, the Buddhist and Jain immigrants most likely preceding the Brahmans, whose arrival there it is difficult to fix in the absence of historical evidence. But when we hear of the early Indian trade, especially that from and to the Southern Peninsula, the Deccan, we may assume this commerce to have been carried on rather by non-Aryan than by Aryan Hindus.

In a discussion on commerce the roads assuredly claim the first attention, as on them the traffic takes place. As the roads on land are generally along the beaten paths of nature, and these are not materially changed in historical times, we may take it for granted, that as a rule, the great high roads of yore are also the high roads of to-day. New roads may be opened, old ones may fall into disuse and be closed, but, as formerly art was not thus at the disposal of industry and employed in opening tunnels through mountain ranges or under the surface of the earth, the most important changes respecting the direction and the use of roads were rather due to political complications than to other reasons.

In the second book of the Rāmāyaṇa, we find mentioned, a road leading from Ayodhya, the modern Oudh, to Rājagṛiha,

the capital of the Kekayas, situated in the neighbourhood of the Himālaya mountains, near the upper Vipāśā, the Hyphasis of the Greek, and the modern Bias. This highway passed through Hastināpura, the famous residence of the Kurus. Greek and Roman writers furnish us with most valuable information respecting the more frequented roads. We know through Pliny that Alexander the Great employed surveyors to measure the Indian roads. One road went from Pushkalāvatī (Peukelaotis) near Attok through Takshaśilā, Bukephala, and crossing the Hyphasis to Pāṭaliputra (Patna). We owe a description of this highway to Megasthenes, who resided 295 B.C. as the Ambassador of Seleukos at the last-mentioned place, the residence of Candragupta. Particulars of the distance from Patna to the sea Megasthenes received through sailors. Another road went from Pushkalāvatī to Indraprastha (Delhi), and then to Ujjayinī (Ujain). Thence over the mountain ranges of the Vindhya crossing the rivers Nerbudda and Tapty to Pratishṭhāna and further into the Dekkan. Near the modern Aurungabad a road turned towards the north-west to the emporiums of Barygaza (Barok) and Kambaya (Kambay). These and many other highways, all which it were too long to mention, crossed the country, connecting distant places with each other, while a good deal of traffic followed the course of the rivers, as we know of the Indus, the Ganges, the Godavery, Kavery and others. The roads were kept in good repair and order, as it is certain that the ancient Hindus were well acquainted with the art of road-making. The Rāmāyaṇa provides us with a pertinent description. Bushes and trees, which obstructed the way were first cut down, and the ground then levelled. Impeding rocks were pierced, and rivers bridged over. To conduct superfluous water from watery places canals were built, and in waterless tracts wells were dug. The inscriptions of the good and wise king Aśoka show us the special care he took to insure the welfare of travellers. Fig trees and mango

trees skirted the King's road, wells were found at every mile's distance, and resting places were provided not only for men but even for beasts, as Aśoka, according to his Buddhistic tenets, took care also of the dumb animals.

Along the coast of India were situated port towns, into which flowed the export products of India, as well as the import articles of foreign countries. The most important were, Sindhu, the Naustathmos of the Greek, our Karaci, Barbarikon, Barake, Minnagara (Ahmedpur) in Guzerat, Barygaza (Barok), Suppara (Śūrpāraka, Sibor) on the Tapty near Surat, Kalliāna (Kalyāṇī), Naura (Honavera), Mangaruth (Mangalore), Muziris (Muyiri Kotta or Kranganore), Tyndis (Tundi), Nilkylda (Kallada) recognized as such by my learned friend Dr. Burnell, whose researches on the ancient topography of India have led to so successful results, Balita (Kalikut), Kollum (Quilon) and Kumārī (Komorin) on the Western Coast. The Eastern shore not being so favorably situated for commerce, as it was the off-coast for the Western nations and not enjoying the advantages which Ceylon afforded to the East, was less known and frequented, and consequently contained a smaller number of large sea towns. It possessed, moreover, very few good natural harbours, only Korkhi (Kolchi), Kayal, the Cael of Marco Polo in the Gulf of Manaar: Kabir on the mouth of the Kavery, Poduke (Pulikat) and Palura (Naupura) can be identified with tolerable certainty, while the position of Kamara and Sopatma mentioned by Ptolemy, and of Maralla found in the Christian Topography of Kosmas Indikopleustes is not yet fixed. The island of Ceylon (Laṅkā, Taprobane) formed the centre of the Western and Eastern commerce.

We glean from the old lawbooks of Manu and Yajñavalkya that the home or inland trade in India was very considerable. Merchants travelled over the length and breadth of the land, and became by an arduous application to their business well acquainted with the manners, customs and dialects of the

country, thus getting more able to estimate the value and the market prices of merchandise. The existence of trading companies, which is attested by Yajñavalkya, bears witness to a highly developed state of civilization, the more remarkable, as such societies were constituted according to legal prescription. The State superintended even the transmission of goods, settling according to a strict scale the amount of freight. The interference of Government went even further, for the prime costs and selling prices of wares were fixed by the authorities, and dues and taxes were levied to the discontent of rate-payers in olden times as well as now-a-days. The Indian kings are said to have paid much attention to the use of proper weights and measures, by ordering an examination and adjustment of them every six months, and punishing severely whoever was convicted of using false measures, or weights. The Hindus became acquainted with the art of coining from the Greeks, and we find that they used previously as money, pieces of gold, silver or copper, which were stamped with a certain mark; this explains the fact why in the law-books fines were fixed according to weight. Such small pieces of silver, marked with the sign of the sun, the moon or a star, are even now here and there found and prove their antiquity by their rude workmanship, while the name of such gold, silver and copper pieces themselves, as *suvarṇa*, *nishka*, *māsha*, *raktikā* and *kārshāpaṇa*, are evidences of their age. In Manu's code the former are prevalent, while in Yajñavalkya real coins (Nāṇaka) are mentioned, yea even the office of an assayer of the mint is specially recorded.

If we may believe the Indian law codes, the position of a merchant was regarded to be a very respectable one. They were acknowledged as belonging to the third caste, the Vaiśya, who originally shepherds and husbandmen, had in more refined times devoted themselves to trade. To enhance, moreover, the social position of a merchant, he was regarded as originally the son of a Kshatriya by a Vaiśya woman.

But it is only in comparatively later times, that the merchants formed a peculiar caste. Manu and Yajñavalkya still allow Brahmans and Kshatriyas to resort to trade, when in distressed circumstances. The word Baṇij denotes in both codes a merchant, from it is derived the modern expression Banyan. The merchants who attended fairs or markets were called Naigamas, from nigama, fair; and Māgadha for commercial traveller seems to point to the travelling propensities of the inhabitants of Magadha (South Behar).

The Non-aryan inhabitants of the Western Coast of India were, as we have seen before, seafaring people; but we have the authority of the Ṛigveda to show, that also the Aryan Hindus were acquainted with the sea; for in one hymn the Aśvins are praised for having on the immense and bottomless ocean protected and safely conducted to the shore the hundred-oared ship of Bhujyu. The Rāmāyaṇa informs us that merchants travelled together in large caravans to the seashore and embarked there for foreign countries. We know of one voyage undertaken by 500 Hindu merchants, who, according to their custom, took with them one Saṅgharakshita to teach and interpret the law while on the voyage. Commercial intercourse by sea took place as well towards the West as towards the East. Even if we were not informed of the Indian trade to the Persian Gulf, Arabia and Africa, such a name as Socotra the Sanskṛit Dvīpa Sukhatara, the Dioskorides of the Greek, would be evidence of it. The Ceylonese traffic was very considerable, thence elephants were exported to Kaliṅga, and voyages undertaken to the mouth of the Ganges. Plinius informs us that voyages to the Prasians which had formerly lasted twenty days, were afterwards made in six days only. From a harbour near the present Kaliṅgapatam, vessels crossed in the time of Ptolemy the Bay of Bengal and reached Sada in Arakan, south of the island of Ramri.

From Ceylon large ships went to Chryse, the modern peninsula Malacca, where lay the Indian colony Kokkonagra; thence to Sindhu in Siam, to Aganagara in Kamboja and to China, where the names of Bramma, the modern Seminfu, and of Ambastes, the river Ngan-nan-kiang near Kanton indicate Hindu origin. The islands of Java and of Bali were colonized by Indian settlers, and the Greek traveller, Iambulos, whose observations were used by Diodorus Siculus, corroborates this fact.

The ships employed on these voyages were large, had two prows and could hold 3000 amphoras. They were built of papyrus, like the ships on the Nile, the ropes were manufactured from the coco palm and the sails from the hemp, which grew in Ceylon. This vigorous display of the Indian trade is no doubt closely connected with the spread of Buddhism which instilled for a time fresh energy into the population.

Having thus far commented on the commerce carried on by the Hindus, our attention will now be directed towards those nations who traded with India. As India through its climatic position and its natural condition, *i.e.*, by the peculiar distribution of fertile level, plateau and mountainous land, produces much, which cannot be produced in other countries, and is moreover not dependent upon others, it became rather a commercial centre, a sort of entrepot, than a real trading country. Its intercourse with the neighbouring nations, depended on its own natural frontiers. These were the sea for the southern peninsula, the Dekkan; Burmah on the East, the Himālaya mountains on the North, and Beluchistan and Afghanistan on the West. Burmah and the south of China are very rich countries, but their inhabitants have never shown great signs of civilization or proved themselves able to use the immense treasures so prodigally bestowed on them. The mountain passes along the Burmo-Chinese frontier are

still occupied by uncultivated savages and the recent murder of Mr. Margary proves that the internal state of the country is still not favorable to peaceful commercial enterprise. Though China is only separated from Assam by a mountain range, and can also be reached by a detour to Bhamo on the Irawady, we have no authority to state, that this road was ever used in ancient times. Chinese Emperors tried afterwards, now and then, to open communications between India and Southern China, but these efforts proved only temporarily successful. The frontier on the north is the highest mountain range on the surface of the earth and the country immediately lying beyond it, Tibet, is neither very fertile nor varied in its productions. The Himālaya mountains do not absolutely prevent all intercourse with India, but their passes have been rather more frequented by pious pilgrims, than by enterprising merchants. In Kabulistan on the contrary meet together the roads from the most distant West with those of the remote East.

Three roads led from China to India, the first went from the mountain pass of Yumen on the north-western frontier of China between the Nanshan and Sining ranges in the valley of the Hoangho, *viâ* Tibet to Pāṭaliputra. The second called Nanlu or South road lay in the south of the Tianshan mountains, it also started from Yumen, went along the Kokonor, through the desert of Gobi, by the Lop Nor, crossed the Tarim river, and remaining on its north side, touched the towns of Kutche, Yarkand and Kashgar, surmounted the Belurtag, and following the Yaxartes (Syr), then bent towards the south towards Bactria (Balkh). The third road commences also at Yumen, inclined then towards the north, therefore called the Pelu or Northern Road, reaches Hami or Khamil, after crossing the Great Desert, goes through Karachar and Turfan, passed the Tianshan, and remaining on its northern side, touches Umritsir, (Bishbalik) and arrives at Guldja or Ili. The way over Yarkand and Kashgar was well

known to Ptolemy. From Bactria (Balkh) Kabul is easily reached. Many roads led from the Hindu Kush to Kabul (Kabura, the Ortospana of the Ancients) though three are only specially known. The road from Kabul to Kandahar passed through Ghazna. At Kandahar (Alexandria Arachosiorum) the high road left the Paropanisos and turned to Herat (Alexandria Ariorum). Herat and Balkh were connected by a separate road. From Herat the road wound through Khorasan (Margiana) and passing its capital Alexandria, (afterwards called Antiochia) reached Hekatompylon, the most important town of the Parthians, thence through the Caspian gates to Ekbatana in Media and crossing the passes of the Zagros arrived at Holvan. At this place three roads branched off, the southern went to Susa, the south-western to Babylon and thence over Palmyra, (Tadmor,) to Tyros and the northern ended at Sardes. There was also from Kabul and Balkh another passage along the Oxus through Khiva to the Caspian sea, thence after 5 days' overland travel to the mouth of the Phasis, where the Milesian colonies, Phasis and Dioskurias were situated, and finally over the Black-Sea to Sinope.

From this brief sketch we learn that there existed communication by land as well as by sea between the furthest East of China and the utmost South of India on the one side, the West of Asia, of Africa and of Europe on the other side. Though we are unable to fix the time when the commerce between China and India began, there is no doubt of its antiquity. At first it was in the hands of middlemen. To these belonged the ancient Issedones who delivered the goods of China to the Indian Daradas and to the Turanians in Central Asia. The Aorsi who communicated to the Greek settlers in the Pontus the legends of the one-eyed men and of the gold-watching griffins, acted in a similar manner. In early times Chinese silk was a valuable article, and in the Bible we find allusions to these Chinese traders. Ezekiel (xvi. 13) speaks of raiments of silk in Jerusalem. The name of India itself

is first mentioned in the Chinese annals in the reign of the Emperor Wuti, who, belonging to the dynasty of the Han, reigned from 140 to 86 B.C. The powerful Hiugnu obstructed the road from China to the west, and he sent in 124, his General Tchangkien against them. Although at first unsuccessful, Tchangkien gained at last his object through the assistance of the Usun, and accompanied by ambassadors of this nation, he returned to China. Since then the Chinese themselves became acquainted with the road to Balkh and to India. When the Emperor Wuti was able to annex the previously independent province of Shensi, the above mentioned pass of Yumen became secure, and large caravans travelled now regularly from China to the West. The first Chinese caravan reached Bokhara in 114, and the favorable reception it obtained there, in the country of the Asi, induced the Emperor to despatch caravans also to other countries, *e.g.*, to Tawan or Ferghana. In these days the cultivation of the vine and of a peculiar kind of excellent clover was introduced into China, while in Ferghana and Khoten the breeding of silkworms was inaugurated. In the former country the art of preparing Chinese varnish and of iron founding was moreover learnt. The successors of Wuti followed his example, and extended their empire as well as their commercial system over Asia, the latter up to the Caspian Sea. During the reign of the Wei and Tsin dynasties (204-419) the intercourse between China and India was interrupted, but it revived under the Song Emperors. Wenti who belonged to this race, received in 428 an embassy from Candrapriya, King of Kapilavastu. The travels of the famous Buddhist pilgrim Hiuentsang furnish us with the most important and complete information about the relations between China and India in the 7th century. Having been consecrated a Buddhist priest, 622, he visited many convents, till he started six years later on his great expedition towards the West. Full of enthusiasm for the doctrine of Buddha he desired to listen to the

Gurus in the West, to collect the sacred writings and to refresh his mind by the precious knowledge he hoped to obtain in the country of Buddha's birth concerning the founder of his belief. He travelled through the country of the Uigurs, Songaria, Transoxania, passed Balkh, Bamian and Kabul, stayed for a long time at Attock and traversing India, visited Kāñcivaram and then returned to China viā Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan. In 645 he reached his fatherland, retired there into a convent in order to translate the numerous Buddhistic writings he had acquired on his travels. He died in 656. Hiuentsang was accompanied by many other pilgrims, and we may infer from this fact, that the roads to India were still used for commercial traffic. Emperor Taitsung despatched an embassy to India between 717 and 720. The conquest of China by the Tatars created at first a change for the worst, but by Central Asia, and China being subjected to one nation the political and commercial relations were otherwise facilitated, as the French and the Papal embassies to China prove, and as I have previously shown in one of my monographs on that subject.[2]

About the early sea trade between India and the Eastern Archipelago and China we have spoken already, but we can also prove, that it was carried on in later times. The Chinese pilgrim Fahien arrived in 411 in Ceylon, stayed there about two years, and embarked on a large vessel, which was provided with a smaller safety boat, for Java. After many disasters he had to encounter, he landed again on the Chinese coast in 414. Kosmas Indikopleustes, who wrote in 547 his Topographia Christiana, gives us an account of the lively trade in aloe, sandalwood, cloves and other products carried on between the Philippines, the Sunda Islands, Kamboja and Burmah on the one part and Ceylon on the

(2) Compare "Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte," second edition, page 4.

other. For a still later period Marco Polo is a trustworthy reporter.

If we turn our eyes from the East to the West, Egypt claims our attention, being one of the countries that were earliest civilized on this globe. Its history goes back as far as 5000 B.C. It is difficult, if not impossible, to prove a direct trade between the old Egyptians and the Hindus, but that a commerical intercourse existed cannot be denied. The Egyptians, though not themselves a seafaring people, had in their relatives, the neighbouringKushite races, the most famous sailors of the old world, and through their medium kept up their commercial relations. When in consequence of the Aryan advance, to which we have already alluded, the Kanaanites were driven to the West, a part of them entered Egypt, dethroned the kings of the 14th dynasty residing in Xois, the modern Sakha, and founded in 2214 the dynasty of the Hyksos or Shepherd kings. These kings reigned, when Abraham was staying in Egypt. Altogether they ruled in this country for 511 years and during the reign of the last king of this dynasty, Apepi, Joseph came to Egypt. The story of Joseph is moreover a notable evidence of the early caravan trade, which crossing Arabia, carried the merchandise of India to Egypt, Syria and Babylonia. A part of this commerce was then in the hands of the Midianites. By a remarkable coincidence we possess a proclamation of this very king Apepi, containing the title Zaphnath, sustainer of the world, a title given by that king to Joseph (Gen. xli, 45). After the expulsion of the Hyksos, which took place at the beginning of the 18th century B.C., (1703), indigenous sovereigns once more ruled the country of the Nile and great kings like Amosis, Tuthmosis, Amenophis, Sesostris (Ramses) carried the glory and the arms of the Egyptians far beyond the boundaries of their fatherland, but not so far as the legends want to make us believe; Media, Persia, Bactria and India were never invaded

by Ramses II., the Sesostris of the Greek. Nevertheless, we may safely surmise, even if there were no evidence forthcoming, that in those days, a brisk commerce united the different and distant nations. In the tombs dating from the time of the 18th dynasty, which ended in 1462 B.C., there are said to have been found mummies wrapt up in Indian muslins and containing vases of Chinese porcelain. Moreover the old Egyptians used indigo for dyeing purposes, and this vegetable produce can be obtained only from India.

The antiquity of this traffic leads us therefore back to a period, when the Aryans had scarcely made any progress in the occupation of India. Many customs and manners which old and modern non-Aryan inhabitants have in common with the ancient nations of Arabia and India must be ascribed as much to the affinity and relationship of those nations as to the consequences of mutual intercourse. Thus the polyandry which prevailed formerly in Arabia, as it still does in Malabar, among the Nairs, was an institution common to the Kushite tribes. The system of caste, is originally not peculiar either to Semitic or to Aryan races. The division of a population according to profession, art and trade, which often coincides with racial differences, is a natural result of social life. These distinctions appear to have assumed in Egypt at first a certain definite form, and to have developed into the system of Caste. Access to caste though was in Egypt not debarred to outsiders, for sons of priests could become warriors, and those of warriors could become priests, &c. It is a fact worthy of notice, that Southern India, where Kushite and Dravidian races preponderate, is also the stronghold of the institution of caste. Even the legal Hindu prescriptions about caste, which is now viewed as a religious regulation, especially through the priestly ascendancy of the Brahmans, are notwithstanding their comparative antiquity, young when compared with Kushite institutions. When the knowledge about Indian science was in Europe still in its infancy, there

was no doubt prevalent a certain mania to connect India and Egypt in a most arbitrary manner; but the reaction against these opinions has also been carried too far, and it is now time to consider quietly the extent of the relations between India, especially Southern India, and Egypt. There exists, no doubt, up to this very day, a singularly striking affinity between the non-Aryan elements of India, whether Kushite or Dravidian on the one, and the old Turanian and Kushite empires on the other part. The eastern nations are conservative in their customs, and ancient fashions may be traced in proportionally new institutions or structures. How can we explain, for instance, the striking resemblance that exists between the famous Pagodas of Tanjore and Madura with the Pyramids of Egypt without considering those connections?

The Egyptians not being, as we have seen before a seafaring nation, employed in their naval expeditions the Phœnicians. That the latter had been previously domiciled on the Persian Gulf was a fact, with which already Herodotos had become acquainted through the archives of Tyre. Strabo mentions, that the islands of Tyros and Arados, the Bahrein Islands of our days, contained temples similar to those of the Phœnicians and that the inhabitants of these islands regarded Tyros, Arados, &c., in Syria, as their colonies. When the Kanaanites were dislodged from the Persian Gulf, a part of them invaded Egypt and the others settled in Syria. This country they found in the possession of Semitic tribes, whom they expelled, but whose language they adopted;[3] this explains why the

(3) The term *Semitic* applying to Hebrew, Arabic and other kindred languages was first used by Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, and has been since adopted generally in this sense. But it can hardly be regarded to be happily chosen, as many Hamitic tribes spoke languages nearly related to those so-called Semitic languages. The question as to the relationship between Hamitic and Semitic languages has to be one day thoroughly investigated.

literary remains of the Phœnicians are written in a dialect so similar to the Hebrew. When Abraham arrived in Palestine, he found the Kanaanites already residing there. The most important and oldest town of the Phœnicians was Sidon, whose commerce was highly developed, when the Hyksos were driven from Egypt. Sidon acknowledged in the Egyptian King its suzerain. It was the policy of the Phœnicians to propitiate the good graces of their mighty neighbours, against whom they were not able to contend; while they assisted them on their part with their fleet. The Phœnicians and the Hebrews met first as enemies, but when both found themselves confronted by a common foe, the Philistines, they made up their differences and became allies for nearly two centuries, the temporary weakness of the Egyptian and Assyrian empires favoring the independence of both. Thus the kings of Tyre became friends of David and Solomon. Hiram's great object was the fortification and embellishment of Tyrus. David bequeathed to his son Solomon the building of the temple, which could not be accomplished without the help of Hiram. Both kings combined besides in joint commercial expeditions to Ophir. The Phœnicians wished to get the commerce of India as much as possible into their own hands. This was the easier to be obtained, as many Phœnician merchants lived in South Arabia and on the Persian Gulf, where the ships containing the valuable Indian merchandize arrived. From South Arabia caravans carried the precious goods across the desert to Syria. Previous to Hiram the Phœnicians of Sidon had only extended their expeditions to Yemen, but this king of Tyros intended to open direct communications with India. He was successful in his undertakings, though his attempts were soon after forsaken. In fact after the reign of Solomon no Ophir voyages were made, as far as we know. The Ophir expedition started generally once in three years. The ships of Tarshish named after the Tarshish in Spain, left

Elath on the Bay of Elath or Ailah, proceeded to Berenike on the Egyptian coast, and thence to Okelis at the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, a voyage which in those times may have lasted about 100 days, as many stoppages would have been rendered necessary for sufficiently providing the fleet with victuals and water. Starting in May the ships arrived in Okelis about the end of July. From this harbour or from Kane on the Erythræan sea, the ships sailed to the mouth of the Indus, or to Barygaza, or to Muziris, or some other southern port. Professor Lassen has identified Ophir, with the country of the Abhīra, which was situated on the coast of Sindh, north of the Rinn. But if Ophir was the same as the district of the Abhīra, how can we explain the long duration of such an expedition "once in three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks?" For surely, if the merchants of the allied kings obtained these articles from Sindh they could even avail themselves of the east monsoon and be back in a much shorter period. The custom in these ancient times differed much from ours. The truth of the saying "Time is money," has been only appreciated within the last decades. Old Homer tells us, that the Phœnicians occasionally stopped a year in one place (Odyss, 15. v. 455, 456). It is well known, that the ancient navigators protracted their journeys, they provided themselves with seed corn which they sowed, and stayed until it was harvested and then sailed away. But in this particular case, the mentioning of gold as an export article "and they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents and brought it to King Solomon" creates another difficulty. For gold has been always a precious import article to India, though it is found also here and there in India. Even if the Abhīra were the stupid people, they enjoy the reputation of being, as we learn from the Pañcatantram, where they are said to sell the precious moon

crystal (candra-kanta) for three cowries; surely their neighbours, the Hindus, who have a thorough appreciation of the value of gold, would not have let it pass so easily into the possession of strangers. It is therefore probable that the Phœnicians got the gold elsewhere, very likely from Malacca, the golden Chersonesus, and that these voyages were called after Ophir, the first place in India where they landed. That the Phœnicians came to Southern India is certain; the peacocks which are mentioned to have been brought from India are called in the Bible Tukkiyim, a plural form of Tukki, in which word scholars have long ago recognized the Tamil "togei," as can be seen in old Hebrew dictionaries, especially in that of Gesenius.[4] By degrees the Phœnicians lost their supremacy on the sea, and they disappear from the field of action and with them also perished for a while the great maritime knowledge they had obtained.

When the Persian empire arises in history, commerce no longer flourishes as before. The Persians were no traders, they preferred military fortifications to commercial pursuits. Fancying it possible to be attacked from the seaside, they, obstructed the bed of the Euphrates and Tigris throwing at certain distances embankments across the river, to prevent its being used for navigation purposes. These abortive measures induced the Chaldæan merchants who lived near the Pasitigris to emigrate to the opposite Arabian shore, to Gerrha from whence they continued their commerce with India. Against this country Darius Hystaspes undertook an expedition. It was this which brought on the exploits of Skylax of Karyanda, who in 509 starting from Peukelaotis sailed down the Indus and reached in 3 months the mouth of the Red Sea. Skylax induced the Indian nations who lived along the rivers to acknowledge the Persian supremacy, and in the Persian

(4) Compare with *tukki* the common Telugu word "toka" tail, used also for the tail of the peacock.

inscriptions the Gandhāra and Sindhu occur as tributaries to the Persian empire. They are even mentioned in the army of Xerxes, and Greek and Hindu met perhaps in that Grecian war for the first time.

The earliest accounts of India among Greek writers we owe to Herodotos; but, though he, and afterwards Ktesias, were tolerably well acquainted with eastern countries, the Greek nations, as such, did not become initiated into Indian knowledge until the expeditions of the great Alexander. It is doubtful, whether, the genius of the Macedonian king shone brighter on a battle field or in the administration of his vast empire. The interest he took in science, literature and arts; the ability he displayed in the foundation of towns; the sagacity he evinced in his behaviour towards his newly acquired subjects; all these are objects of praise and admiration. It was he who removed the mean barriers placed by the Achæmenides in the grand old river; it was he, who intended Babylon, which had, in former times, been a great emporium of the Indian trade from the East and from the South, to become the commercial metropolis and the residence of his realm. His untimely death proved fatal to the execution of his vast designs. His successor in Asia, Seleukos Nikanor, abandoned Alexander's projects respecting Babylon, and built a new capital, which he named Seleukeia. In the course of time, Seleukos ceded the most eastern part of his empire to Candragupta, and a friendly intercourse ensued between the Seleukides and the Indian kings. Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleukos at the court of Candragupta wrote at the beginning of the third century his work on India, but only fragments have reached us, otherwise it would have proved a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of India. The same fate shared the writings of Onesikritos, who, a companion of Alexander the Great, had been his envoy to the Indian Gymnosphistes.

The friendship which existed between the Greek and Indian dynasties was renewed in 216, when Antiochos the Great and Saubhagasena revived these amicable relations. But independently of the Seleukidian power, Grecian influence was growing, for Diodotos, Satrap of Bactria, declared himself in 250 B.C. independent, and established the Greco-Bactrian kingdom, which in the time of Demetrios (205) comprised even the country beyond the Jhelum. His successor, Eukratides, struck coins with Greek and Indian inscriptions, and though the western provinces of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom became soon afterwards a prey to Parthian conquests, it increased in the East, up to the Jumna and embraced even Gujarat. But it did not last long. Its influence survived, by introducing Greek thought and Greek civilization, to which the Hindus through the temporary preponderance of Buddhistic doctrines proved themselves rather susceptible. The nicknames Yavanamuṇḍa and Kambojamuṇḍa, baldheaded Greek and baldheaded Kamboja are explained from the fact that those nations patronised Buddhism and that Buddhist mendicants had their crowns shaven.

Since the days of Alexander the Great and the decay of their political independence, the Greeks turned cosmopolitans. They spread everywhere, carrying with them their high culture, and becoming the pioneers of refinement. Even in the far East, they founded colonies as the Greek name of some places proves. Iambulos crossed the Indian Archipelago and Greek merchants resorted even to China. The works of Strabo, of Plinius, the Periplus Maris Erythraei, the writings of Dionysios Periegetes, Ptolemy, Arrianos and others—amply testify to the great activity displayed by the Greeks in their travels and in their commercial pursuits. In latter times Alexandria in Egypt, became the great centre where Western and Eastern nations flocked together, but it was not until Egypt had become a province of Rome that the

foresight of Alexander, in choosing this spot for an emporium was duly appreciated.

The powerful empire of the Parthians was inimical to the Romans, the transmission of Chinese and Indian goods across Mesopotamia was inhibited, and though the way along the Oxus and by the Caspian sea was still open, the direct sea trade offered now greater advantages. Under those circumstances, a bright future dawned on Alexandria, especially since a steersman, named Hippalos, re-discovered the existence of the south-west monsoon, the knowledge of which had fallen into oblivion since the times of the Phœnicians, and the grateful sailors called henceforth this south-west monsoon Hippalos.

The voyage to India was generally undertaken from Kane, the modern Hadramaut, or perhaps from a harbour nearer to Cape Gardafui. The more the commerce increased between India and the Roman Empire, the greater progress was also made in the art of navigation. The Western trade was viewed in India with favorable eyes, and the occasional embassies which were sent from India to Roman Emperors show this fact plainly. Thus we hear of Indian envoys with precious presents being sent to Augustus, Claudius, Antoninus Pius and Julianus.

With respect to the knowledge concerning India, it is certain, that the author of the Periplus did not double Cape Komorin, but Plinius was acquainted with the Koromandel Coast and Ptolemy's knowledge embraced Burmah and even China. This country was visited by a Greek merchant Alexandros, who stopped at Kanton, Markianos of Heraklea and Ammianus Marcellinus provide on these points still more accurate accounts. We may perhaps be allowed to call Naustathmos (Karaci), Theophila (Suradara) in Gujarat, Byzantium on the Malabar Coast and other places Grecian colonies.

As long as Rome was the sole capital of the Empire, Indian goods went from Alexandria mainly to Rome, but when the Empire became divided, Byzantium, or as it was now called Constantinopolis, participated in the receipt of the eastern articles. Among the merchants who met in Alexandria, many Hindus were to be found; though the statue of the river god Indus, in that town, was probably the gift of a Greek and not of a Hindu. The presence of Brahmans is even reported from Constantinople. But the Byzantine Emperors had to encounter the opposition of the new Persian dynasty, which wanted to monopolize the Indian trade. This happened also in Yemen, whence Justinianus tried to get Chinese silk through an alliance with the Homerites, until at last in 536 some monks succeeded in bringing silkworms to Europe.

The Persian seaports, Teredon and Charax, whose position near the mouth of the Tigris was not far distant from Ktesiphon and Dastagard, the residence towns of the Sassanides received directly the merchandize of India. This trade was very lively, and being lucrative, the Persian kings did not brook any rivalry. From the description of the spoil found by the Emperor Heraklios in the palace of King Khosru Perviz, we gather, that a great many Indian articles were consumed in Persia. The relations between these two countries were friendly. Bahram Gor of Persia visited the King of Kanyakubja, and married one of his daughters. He became, it is said, so fond of Indian music that as his country did not possess any accomplished musicians, he sent for 12,000 Indian musicians. One of his successors, Khosru Anushirvan, the Conqueror of Beluchistan despatched his learned physician Barzuyeh to India, to obtain a plant which could restore to life again murdered persons, and which was reported to grow in that country. His search was, as can well be guessed, in vain. At last he was informed that that

plant was meant to denote the science contained in a book deposited in the Royal Treasury. Barzuyeh demanded and received a copy of the precious work which he brought home and translated into the Huzvaresh language. The book in question was the Pañcatantram.

The commerce of the Greeks of the Byzantine empire sustained a severe blow from the Arabs, to whose conquests the Sassanides had succumbed still earlier. The sea road, viâ Alexandria, was now blocked to the Greek merchants, who received Indian goods mostly by the way along the Oxus and through the Caucasus. Trapezunt profited by this dislocation of the trade.

Soon after Mahomet's death and four years previous to the destruction of the Persian Empire, Khalif Omar with an eye on the Indian sea trade, founded the harbour of Bassora, but his expeditions from the coast of Oman to Thana, near Bombay, and to the mouth of the Indus, were undertaken rather more from political than from commerical reasons. The intercourse between both nations remained then suspended for some time, the wars in the West and internal dissensions preventing the Arabs from devoting themselves much to the peaceful pursuits of commerce, but the subjects of the Khalif still continued their traffic with the Ceylonese. The island of Ceylon was, as is well known, regarded by the Mussulmans to have been the Garden of Eden, the earthly paradise, in which Adam had resided, Muhammedam pilgrims migrated every year to the mountain called Adam's Peak, in order to worship the steps seen on the rock and ascribed to the father of mankind. In fact the bad treatment which an Arab ship, returning from Ceylon, experienced at the western mouth of the Indus by the marauding inhabitants of Dipal, induced Khalif Valid to despatch an army against the king of Sindh, and in 712 this kingdom was conquered by the Arabs. From that time the Indo-Arabian trade steadily increased; and as we are well informed by contemporaneous

Arabian travellers, whose valuable descriptions have come down to us, we are enabled to form a pretty correct idea of the commercial relations between both nations.

The Arabs were next, to the conquest of Sindh, indebted to a lucky incident for a favorable turn in their connection with India. It was at the commencement of the ninth century that an Arabian ship, full of pilgrims on their way to Ceylon, was driven to the Malabar Coast. The then reigning Zamorin of Kalikut, Ceruman Perumal, received them kindly, and becoming acquainted through intercourse with the ship-wrecked people with the tenets of Islam, turned Mahomedan himself and went on a pilgrimage to Mekka. There he died. But before his death, he enjoined his successor to treat with hospitality the Arabian merchants, to allow them to erect mosques and to be under the jurisdiction of their own judges. This request was granted, and a regular intercourse and commerce between both parties ensued. The Mussulmans who settled in the domains of Ceruman Perumal, were called Mapilla or Moplai by the Hindu inhabitants, and many of these immigrants, and their descendants, became in after times industrious husbandmen.

The extent of the Arabian trade is best illustrated, by their geographical system, and as our attention is now directed, to the sea trade, a few remarks respecting the former will be appropriate. The Arabs divided the Eastern Ocean into seven seas, the first was called the Bahr Faris (Persian sea), our Persian Gulf. On its coast lay the harbour Siraf, which was visited by Chinese vessels. These Chinamen were much stronger built than the ships of the Arabs. The latter were built with the planks of cocoapalms which were fastened together by wooden nails, as iron nails were considered to be unsuitable for the Indian Ocean. For in the Middle Ages it was generally believed that at the bottom of that sea a large magnet attracted the iron floating on it, and that as soon as

ships with iron nails came near that magnet, the iron nails would be drawn from the ship's planks and the vessel with its unfortunate crew sink to the bottom. From Siraf the ship sailed first to Maskat in Oman at the southern end of the Persian Gulf and reached then the second sea Larevi which represents the northern part of the Indian Ocean. Kulam Mali (Quilon) was the next harbour to be visited; from there a month's journey took them to the Nicobar Islands. The sea between Ceylon and the Nicobars and Andamans was called Harkand. The Andamans were not omitted in their voyage and from there they steered to Kalah (Kalahbar) then the great emporium of Malacca, which the Arabian traveller, the famous prince Abulfeda (1331) mentions as the most important trading place between Arabia and China, and where many foreigners, as Mahomedans, Persians, Hindus and Chinese flocked together. Malacca itself was then dependent on the king of Java, whose riches and splendour are described in the most glowing terms. Java, or Zabej as it was then called, is said to have been so densely inhabited, that when a cock began to crow in one village, the cry was taken up by the cocks in the next, and was soon heard all along the Island. The fourth and fifth seas, named Shalahat and Kidrang are the next, but their position is difficult to fix, as the reports are so confused. The sixth sea Senef comprehending the Gulf of Tonquin and a part of of the Sunda sea lay on the east of Kochin-China and was separated from the seventh sea Sanji, by the Straits of Hainan, which were regarded to be the gate of China. The last named sea washed the East coast of China and there was situated that famous Arabo-Chinese harbour, Gampu. We see, therefore, that however limited was the knowledge of the Arabs of the real nature and position of the lands and seas they visited, their participation in the Eastern, and especially in the Indian trade was very considerable.

This is also the place to mention that, besides the Arabs, Jews, Nestorians, and in later times Parsis settled in India. From a commercial point of view the last deserve attention as some of them became most prosperous merchants.

While the Arabs extended thus their commerce, of which India was the centre, as far as Gampu in China, the Italian cities Venice and Genoa, also got a fair share of the Indian traffic. Many citizens of those famous towns travelled far in the East and entered into commercial transactions with oriental princes and nations. The crusades though originally undertaken for religious purposes and unsuccessful in the attainment of their principal object, proved of the greatest importance in removing many prejudices which existed between Occident and Orient, and in causing friendly relations to arise out of deadly religious strife. The Venetians possessed a factory in Alexandria, still the centre of the commerce between Europe and Asia. The Genoese founded Kaffa in the Crimea and Tana, being favoured by the Palaeologian Emperors. Augsburg in Germany lay on the highroad, which having crossed the snowy Alps, formed the passage for the Eastern and Indian products to the centre of Europe. The Hanseates participated in the Levant trade, and Bruges, in Flanders, became opulent by its factories, which manufactured the raw materials of the East. Spain, France and the British Islands had their fair portion in the Indian commerce, though the real traffic in those days was more in the hands of Italian and German towns or confederacies.

This state of things lasted, until the Portuguese, roused by the reports of the existence of that mighty but mysterious potentate the Prester John of India, whom I have identified as the powerful Emperor of Central-Asia, the Korkhan of Karakhitai, despatched Bartholomeo Diaz and later Vasco da Gama in search of him. The latter did not find the renowned priestly king but instead the seaway to India. The landing

of Vasco da Gama at Kalikut, together with the discovery of America, a few years earlier, altered the whole direction of commerce, until by the reinstitution of the Overland mail, and more so still by the successful termination of the Suez canal, the old time-honoured road to India and China *viâ* the Mediterranean and Red Sea has been again revived.

Modern inventions have done much to lessen the distance between the East and the West, but apart from this, the nature of the trade is not materially changed. Though it is now a matter of no difficulty to perform the sea-voyage from any part of the world to India, the Central Asian caravan trade which beginning in China, passed to India, and went to Babylon, to Egypt and so forth, is, owing to the depredations and wars of the barbarous hordes, and the existence of half barbarous states in regions which were formerly the sites of flourishing realms, no more of the importance it once enjoyed, even in the remotest times.

Having in the above commented on the commerce of the Hindus with foreign nations up to the appearance of the Portuguese in this country, we must now turn our attention to the integrant part of commerce, to the merchandise itself.

With respect to the inland trade of India our information is again very scarce. Indian sources supply only scanty reports. The second book of the Mahābhārata contains in the description of the Rājasūya sacrifice a list of the presents received by king Yudhishṭhira; other accounts can be derived from some Buddhistic Sūtras. Thus we read in the former, that the king of Kamboja brought horses, for which that country was very famous, female camels, woollen cloaks embroidered with gold, and skins of Kabul cats and antelopes. The Paradas, who inhabited Gedrosia (Beluchistan) and the Abhīra of Ophir fame presented cows, goats, sheep, donkeys and camels, woollen coverings, and an intoxicating beverage

made of fruit. The Śūdra, a border people near the desert of Sindh, showed their submission by coming to Yudhishṭhira with skins of goat and Ruru stags and with Kabul horses. The eastern kings brought precious seats, beds and armour adorned with jewels, gold and ivory, as well as variegated elephant covers, tiger and elephant skins, iron arrows and excellent arms. The nations living near the Brahmaputra and the mouth of the Ganges arrived with gold, perfumes, with precious woods, with rare birds, animals, and skins. The Cola and Pāṇḍya carried fragrants, sandal-oil in golden tankards, sandalwood, gold, jewels, and fine textures. From Ceylon came precious pearls, and dyed cloths. This extract yields only scanty information, the products of large countries are omitted, yet we are able to ascertain those of a few.

In enumerating the different articles of trade, the Indian export articles will be given first, and followed by the foreign import articles. The principal sources of information respecting the ancient export trade are the account written by an Alexandrian merchant and perused by Plinius the Elder and the Digesta or orders issued between the years of 176 and 180 by the Roman Emperors for the purpose of fixing the duties, which were to be levied from those articles.

Though elephants, tigers, leopards, panthers and other large beasts were occasionally exported from India, one can hardly include them in the list of merchandise. Rome especially was the place where they found a good market, as they were wanted in the amphitheatres for the Circensian plays. King Solomon received from India apes and peacocks, as we have seen before; the Dravidian name of the peacock in the Bible intimating the presence of Dravidian traders. Herodotos praises the good qualities of Indian dogs, which were highly esteemed by King Darius, and which most probably would not claim any relationship with the ill

used Pariah dogs of our days. Indian tortoises also found a good market. But not only living animals, valuable skins and horns also were exported.

Pearls were another article, highly prized alike by ancient as by modern nations. One of the most renowned pearl-fisheries was on the coast of Ceylon, especially at Perimula (Perimuḍa) on the island of Manaar. We know that the Medes, Persians and other eastern people paid immense sums for pearls, and Plinius tells us, that the Romans, especially the Roman ladies, were very fond of them. The Roman ladies adorned nearly every part of their body with pearls, even down to the straps of their sandals, making their presence known by the clinking of pearl-strings as do to this day the Indian dancing girls. The sumptuousness displayed in those times exceeded all bounds, thus we read, that Lolla, the wife of the Emperor Caius Claudius, appeared often publicly covered with smaragds and pearls, worth 40,000,000 sesterces or £300,000 sterling. The story about the wager between Queen Cleopatra of Egypt and the Triumvir Antonius is well known. She possessed two large pearls, used as pendents of the ear, which had been previously the property of other eastern monarchs and were valued very highly. She dissolved one in strong vinegar, drank it, and was only prevented by an attendant of Antonius from dissolving the other pearl. The draught thus swallowed was esteemed to be worth 10,000,000 sesterces, or a little more than £80,000 sterling.

Though *Silk* is indigenous in China, and Kattigara (the modern Kanton) was in ancient days the great silk market, silk may be mentioned here, as the western nations received it *viâ* India, and it is mentioned as Sericum Indicum in the Roman Digesta. Moreover there exist also in this country 12 species of silk spinning worms. Indian-made silk articles were bought by Greek and Roman merchants. In the latter times of the Roman Empire silk dresses became more

fashionable and many were the strictures in which some sober writers indulged, when complaining about the luxury and wantonness of the Roman ladies, in dressing themselves in precious and thin silks. It is remarkable, that the real origin of silk remained a long time unknown. Pausanias who wrote his archaeological work on Hellas is the first classical author whose ideas about silk and silkworms are pretty correct, for the general notion was, that the silk was combed from the leaves of trees. If we enumerate now the Indian export articles derived from the vegetable kingdom, we shall soon observe, that both in number and in value they are superior to those belonging to the animal world.

Of grains *Rice* formed an important commodity. The cultivation of rice extended in ancient times only so far West as to Bactria, Susiana, and the Euphrates valley. The Greeks most likely obtained their rice from India, as this country alone produced it in sufficient quantity to be able to export it. Moreover the Grecian name for rice *Oryza*, for which, there exists no Aryan or Sanskṛit root, has been previously identified by scholars with the Tamil word *ariśi*, which denotes rice deprived of the husk. This was exactly the state in which rice was exported. The Greeks besides connected rice generally with India. Athenaeos quotes *Oryza hephthe*, cooked rice, as the food of the Indians, and Aelianus mentions a wine made of rice as an Indian beverage. If now the Greek received their rice from India, and the name they called this grain by is a Dravidian word, we obtain an additional proof of the Non-Aryan element represented in the Indian trade.

The *Cotton cloths* (*sindones* of Herodotos) show by their name their Indian origin. It occurs also afterwards in the Periplus where a distinction is made in the cotton goods according to quality, and cotton thread is mentioned as a separate article. The Roman Digesta call the cotton thread *carpasium*, and the cotton cloth *carbasia*, which name for the latter is also used by the Alexandrian merchant, the Sanskṛit name being

Kārpāsa. Up to the first century after Christ the cotton tree was, except in India, only cultivated in the small islands of Tyros and Arados in the Persian Gulf.

Ebony and *teakwood*, *sugar-cane* and *bamboo-cane* were in great demand, the medicine Tabashir was derived from the latter. *Asafoetida* in Sanskṛit *Bhūtāri*, the enemy of evil spirits, was a well known physic to the Alexandrian merchant and to Hippokrates under the name of Butyros. This was afterwards erroneously taken for Butyron, butter. Pliny (XII, 16 and XXIV, 77) mentions that the best *Lycium*, a medicine prepared from a certain boxtree (Pyxacanthon), and the reddish bark of the root of the *Macir* tree, which was considered as a specific for dysentery, came from India.

India is rich in vegetable dyes, but its most famous is, no doubt, *Indigo*, the Indikon of the Greek. Already Vitruvius mentions the Indicus color, and Plinius distinguishes between two different sorts of Indicum. The frequent attempts made to adulterate it, show how highly it was appreciated. At Selinos in Sicily surrogates of this description were manufactured. One pound of good Indigo fetched about 10 dinars or 3 rupees. Among the Indian spices *Pepper*, pippali in Sanskṛit, was much in demand. It grows wild in Malabar. Muziris and Nelkylda were the most frequented pepper markets. Old Pliny could not understand why people should take so great a fancy to such a hot article. A pound of white pepper was sold at 7 dinars or 2 rupees, and a pound of black pepper for a little more than 1 rupee. The collection of pepper was associated in the medieval legends with wholesale burning of venomous snakes, which infested the pepper plantations.

Another spice of great value and request was the *Cassia*. The Laurus Cassia grows in Malabar and Canara, on the Himalaya, in Bhutan and Nepal. The tree attains a height of 60 feet, has white flowers, and its inner bark produces a

spice, which though in flavour and taste similar to, is coarser than cinnamon. The real *cinnamon* is indigenous to the country of Somali on the eastern coast of Africa, and was afterwards introduced to Ceylon, whence the Arab traveller Ibn Batuta reports on it. It grows about 30 feet, has likewise a white flower and a small berry, which yields a useful oil. Its inner bark produces the famous cinnamon, the bark contains the precious cinnamon oil, its leaves furnish the mace oil, and its roots camphor. The Bible (Exod. xxx. 23-24) knows both Cassia and Cinnamon, so does also Herodotos and Theophrastos. The real cinnamon came originally from Ethiopia, and cassia from Malabar. The Roman Digesta distinguished between Cinnamomum, Xylocinnamomum, Cassia tantum and Xylocassium. The price of cinnamon fluctuated much between 25 and 300 dinars or between 7½ and 90 rupees the pound; and of cassia between 5 and 50 dinars or 1½ to 15 rupees. Cinnamon and cassia were also esteemed physics. The leaves of the cassia and other laurel trees yielded the highly esteemed *Malabathron*, the Tamalapatra of the Indians. The Alexandrian merchant tells us a peculiar story how this precious spice was obtained. There exists, he says, a barbarous race of men with short figures, broad faces and flat noses, who are called Sesatai (Besadai). Every year they come, together with their wives and children, to the frontiers of the Thinae. There they encamp, resting on mats made of rushes, tendrils and leaves, which they carried from their home with them. As soon as they are gone away people, who have watched them, gather the mats, which these Besadai had left behind, extract the fibres from the reeds, and collect the leaves. Out of these they gain the Malabathron, of which exist three varieties, and bring it to the harbour Gange on the mouth of the river of that name. It came also from Further-India and was as highly valued as cinnamon.

Cardamum and *Clove*, indigenous in the Philippines, came *viâ* India and were regarded as Indian articles. *Ginger* was imported as well from India as from Ethiopia.

Among perfumes and scents *Aloe* was very highly esteemed in ancient times. Aloe is the wood of the Aghil tree, which is turned in consequence of a disease into a dark brownish, veined resin. If it is heated it spreads a very agreeable smell. The best sort is called Ghark, and sinks when placed in water; the next best, Nimghark, is still lighter and nearly floats; the third least valuable, Semeleh, is the lightest. It is indigenous in Kochin-China, Kambojah, Siam, and also in Assam. Its name is generally Aguru (Agaru) in Sanskṛit, which word denotes in this language *not heavy*, but as the best species is really the heaviest, it seems clear, that the name was not originally Sanskṛit. In the Bible it is mentioned as Ahālīm, which resembles more the word aghil, in Tamil, and which being identical with the Sanskṛit word suggests that the latter was derived from the former, while the Tamil word itself is probably derived from the name by which Aloe was called in its native country. The Burmese name for Aloe is *Akyan*, it resembles *Aghil* and *Ahalīm* and seems to contain the original root of the word. In the Mahābhārata Bhīma receives presents of aloe. The word *Aghila* was through ignorance turned into *Aquila* by the Portuguese, and thence comes the erroneous name Aquilaria or Eagle-wood. It is still very dear, in Kochin-China the pound sells between 18 and 55 rupees, and in Japan even at 650 rupees.

The fragrant *sandal wood* grows in Malabar and in Mysore, in the zone above the teaktrees, it is also found in the Sunda Islands, but the most precious sandal wood comes from the first country. The middle of the trunk contains the odoriferous innerwood, and the darker its colour the more sweet-scented it is. Three kinds, red, yellow and white, are distinguished. Its use and qualities are well known, as

incense it is burnt in temples and private houses ; as a powder it produces a refreshing effect and becomes also a cooling salve, its oil is used as a cooling remedy. Its beneficent qualities are praised by Indian poets ; in the Bible it is repeatedly mentioned, but it was not much patronized by the Greeks and Romans, who applied it more as a purging medicine.

The *costus* of the ancients is the Sanskṛit "kushṭha," one species came from the neighbourhood of Multan, another from Kabul and Kashmir. The Romans had a great predilection for this root, they used it at sacrifices, its oil was turned into a salve, and they mixed their wines with costus and availed themselves of it as a medicine. One pound sold at 6 dinars or $1\frac{4}{5}$ rupees. The *nard*, in Sanskṛit Nalada, grows on the banks of the Upper Indus, in Nepal, and along the Ganges. The reputation of this Valeriána had already spread in early times, the singer of the song of Solomon praises its fragrance. The spikenard possessed at one and the same time leaves and ears, the sweetness of its flavour and its fine red colour were equally esteemed. Its value depended on the size of the leaves and a pouud of the best leaves was worth 100 dinars or 30 rupees, the smallest leaves fetching the highest price.

Bdellium is the gum of a tree, ascribed to Arabia Media, Bactria and India. The tree from which this resin flows, grows still in Eastern Bengal and in Assam. Most probably it was exported from India, the Bible mentions it in different places. Like Costus it was also used to temper wine, though its medicinal application prevailed.

Having thus far mentioned the most important plants which the ancients received through their trade with India, we have now to turn our attention to the minerals.

The first and most important mineral which is said to have been exported from India, is *gold*. That there were goldmines

in India is a fact beyond doubt, and some rivers contain gold dust. Even the second chapter of Genesis according to the generally accepted explanation attributes gold to India. Gold was found in the Himālaya in the north and in the Western Ghat in the south; and in the rivers, which spring from the Himālaya, especially in Ladakh and Iskardo. Herodotos relates (111. 102) the story, that in the country of Daradas, ants smaller than dogs but larger than foxes collect gold in their dens, that the inhabitants of these regions take the gold out from the holes and bring it to Darius, the king of Persia. The old Hindus were acquainted with this story, called the gold collected thus *pipīlika*, from *pipīla* a black ant, Megasthenes and Nearchos saw the skins of these ants, and the former describes them as equal in size to those of foxes and in outward appearance similar to those of panthers. Later investigations have shown that those black ants are marmots which live in Thibet, and whose annularly marked skins are a great export article to India and China. These marmots heap up the shining gold dust in their dens. and their mode of life resembles that of ants. This is the reason why they were called ants. Alexander von Humboldt observed that the ants in northern Mexico carried to their ant-hills a certain shining substance which sparkled like Hyalith. It may be, that the Daradas remarked a similar habit among the ants. However that may be, and though gold is found evidently in India, it is extremely unlikely that gold was ever in any considerable quantity exported from India. We had an opportunity of speaking about this subject when discussing Solomon's expeditions to Ophir. India has long been regarded as the richest country in the world, and though this is far from being true, the greater the ignorance, the greater was also the exaggeration. The geographical ideas of the extent of India were very indefinite, and the uncertainty attaching to the limits of India in the Ancient and the Middle Ages creates a great difficulty in

explaining old writings. At times the whole south-eastern part of Asia is called India, and it comprises often Ethiopia in Africa. There is no reason then, why Further-India, especially the Chersonesus Aurea, Malacca, should not be included in the India of the Ancients, and if so, there is no difficulty in ascribing the gold of Ophir to have been found in Malacca. From the nature of the Indian commerce, gold was essentially an import article to India, as it is also now.

Iron was found in India, and the old Hindus knew the secret of making good steel, the sword-blades of Gujarat especially enjoying a great reputation.

Though the *tin trade* goes back to far remote times, India itself is not rich in this metal. It is more abundant in Tenasserim, Malacca and the island of Banca. The Phœnicians were the earliest tin merchants, in fact, it is owing to this metal that their commerce became so extended. Neither Egypt nor Babylonia possessed tin mines, the nearest countries to these which possessed tin were Caucasia, India and Spain. If we now find bronze implements in Egyptian tombs, whose age goes back as far as 4000 before Christ, surely one is bound to admit that a widely expended commercial intercourse existed already in very distant days. Whether the Greek word for tin *kassiteros* is derived from the Sanskṛit *Kastīra*, or whether the Hindus got it from the Greeks, is still doubtful. That it was originally not much found in India but in Further-India is immaterial, as it was early known in India, and the fact of the word *Kastīra*, occurring in Pāṇini's Sūtras is important.

Perhaps hardly any country can equal India and Ceylon in the possession of precious stones. Parts of India, foremost Golkonda, have always been considered as mines of gems. From India the ancients received the famous *Diamond*. Between the 14th and 25th degrees of northern latitude, mostly on the eastern side of the Dekkan and the Amarakaṇṭaka

plateau, near Kaḍapa, Nandyāla, Rāvalkonda, Ellora, Śambhalpur and Panne lie rich diamond fields. The best diamonds were retained for the adornment of Idols and Kings, others were hoarded up in royal treasuries. Their number can hardly be guessed, if we consider only the enormous quantities of diamonds taken by foreign conquerors out of this country. Plinius contains a great deal of information about the diamond, whose pounding, by which they were reduced to atomic dust, he declares to be one of the grandest discoveries ever made by the human mind. That to the diamond thus pounded were ascribed some absurd powers, we were lately again reminded of in an important State trial. According to Plinius diamonds could not be pounded unless in the fresh and still warm blood of a buck.

Crystals too were exported from India, for the Indian crystal was highly esteemed. The Rājapippali mountain range between the lower Narmada and Tapty yielded *Onyx* and *Sardonyx* stones in large quantities, hence Ptolemy called it the Sardonyx-mountain, Indian *Hyacinths*, *Amethysts*, *Smaragds*, *Carbuncles*, *Beryls*, *Sapphires*, *Chrysolites* and *Opals* were sent in large quantities, to the great western empire, and this export trade in gems must have been very considerable. How highly precious stones were valued at Rome, one example out of many will clearly show. The Roman Senator L. Nonius, the son of Struma Nonius, and the brother-in-law of P. Quinctilius Varus was proscribed by the Triumvir Antonius, for the sake of an Opal, the former possessed. Nonius escaped leaving all his treasures behind, but took away with him his opal ring, which was valued at 200,000 sesterces or about £8,000 sterling.

We must not forget the famous *Murrhinian vases*, which though really not of Indian origin, were exported from Barygaza together with onyxes. They were manufactured of a mineral Murrha, composed of felspar, fluorspar and calcareous spar, which was found in the mountains on the Caspian

sea, in Armenia and Persia, and were remarkable for their hardness and beauty. Drinking and eating vessels were generally made out of them. Pompeius Magnus brought in 63 B.C. the first murrhinian drinking vessels to Rome, this happened at his third triumph against Mithridates. A small piece of murrhinum just enough for a small goglet, containing the 48th part of an amphora, was sold at 70 talents. The Consul Petronius possessed a large number of such vessels, the Emperor Nero coveted them and took them from the children of Petronius. Nero was able to furnish a whole theatre with them. Among these pieces of *vertu* was a magnificent scoop, for which Petronius had paid 300 talents; suspecting the designs of Nero, he broke it to pieces, before he died.

We mentioned above that Indian articles were in request among other nations, but that these could not supply in return anything which met with an equal demand from the Hindus, as their wants were moderate, and easily satisfied. In a country where the three necessaries of life food, drink and clothing (Annapānavastrāṇi) amount to so little, where a few grains of rice, some draughts of water and a few yards of cotton suffice for existence, this could not be otherwise. Thus foreigners were obliged to pay in coin for the goods they bought and as precious metals are the universally acknowledged means of interchange, gold and silver coins were imported in great quantities into India. In fact the annual drain of these metals from Europe to India was an object of great anxiety in ancient times. Pliny complains most bitterly about this state of affairs, and is highly indignant that 50 millions of sesterces or two millions sterling were year after year swallowed by India, to pay for Eastern goods, by the selling of which the Western merchants gained at least 100 per cent. Besides gold and silver, copper, lead, and tin also were imported to India.

The old Hindus were very fond of *corals*, and attached to them a similar value as foreigners to pearls; in consequence many corals were imported to India, as were also some varieties of *Sards* and *Sardonyxes*. *Glassware* found a good market in India. The Hindus have never up to this very day made much progress in the manufacture of an article, whose invention was known in the dawn of historical days to the ancient Egyptians.

Frankincense and *meliloton*, perhaps an Egyptian kind of lotus, whose stalks have a sweet taste and were a favorite dish in Egypt, were brought to India. From the frankincense a valuable oil and salve were prepared. The importation of wine mostly from Laodikea in Syria and from Italy is an undoubted fact. The Alexandrian merchant mentions specially the presents of wine, he made to an Indian prince. As in those times comparatively few Europeans lived in India, the wine must have been drunk nearly exclusively by natives, and considering the variety of race, and of caste, there is no reason to wonder. Even now-a-days more wines and spirits than the combined thirst of the European community can digest, land in India, and what is more, are consumed in this country. On the other hand, the stories of inebriety among Hindus which Greek writers, as Chares of Mytilene, record, are to say the least exaggerated.

If we add to this list of import articles *linen cloth*, we have mentioned the most common and valuable ones.

Comparing the two lists of import and export goods with each other, we see that, while the latter is very considerable in number and differing in variety, the former contains only a few articles. The reason of this striking difference has been already explained. The nature of the Indian trade is even now not materially altered. We meet, with a few exceptions, the same goods in ancient times as in our days. After all, men and countries do not change much, and the nature of

both remains the same. The greater number of European inhabitants in this country has produced a large influx of European merchandise, which originally intended for the use of Europeans has found its way also into the household of natives. As one of the most valuable new import articles we may mention stationery, while the list of the export articles is not materially altered, after including in it cotton, coffee, tea and tobacco.

That the most numerous and useful articles of Indian products belong to the vegetable kingdom is, from what has been mentioned before pretty clear, and this fact at once assigns to India its proper position, *i.e.*, India is essentially an *agricultural country.*

The great European discoveries in science have also affected Indian commerce, but here it is not our intention to discourse on this topic.

The exchange of material goods, though being the obvious object of commerce, cannot take place without causing a material change in the habits and ideas of those who come thus in contact with each other. Paltry prejudices are abandoned, the human mind expands in toleration, as it does in knowledge. The great historian of ancient Greece ascribes the civilization of Greece and the rapid growth of Greek literature to the free trade which existed between Egypt and Greece since the days of the Saidic dynasty.

If we apply these observations to India, we shall find that though the Hindus supplied to other nations the most precious products of their native country, they received back not only their money's worth in gold and silver, but also, and what is more valuable, a knowledge of the great scientific researches, made by their more advanced neighbours.

When the Aryans began to stir in their old home near the Hindu-Kush, about 2,500 years before Christ, Turanian,

Cushite and Semitic empires had already a long history behind them.

To Egypt and to Babylonia the Aryan Hindus owe a great debt of gratitude. How far they were influenced by the Cushites and Dravidians of India it will be difficult to determine. To the former they owe directly or indirectly their astronomical or rather astrological science, the philosophical systems on cosmogeny and atomism, the art of writing, at first so detested by the Brahmans, who feared to lose their ascendancy, if the knowledge of writing became general; as in after years the invention of printing was opposed by the Obscurantes in Europe.

To the intercourse with the Greeks they are indebted among other things most probably to the drama, to the art of minting coins, and to an increased knowledge of astronomy. The Hindus had a high appreciation of Grecian science in general, and they acknowledge specially the Yavanas as their masters in astronomy. Many astronomical terms in Sanskṛit are derived from the Greek. We observed before, that the Greeks were favourable to Buddhism, which owed its success in India most likely to the support of the non-Aryan population. To what an extent at a later period the cultus of Krishṇa was modified by Christain legends, which found their way to India, is beyond our power to say.

On the other hand, the Hindus contributed, when their turn came, much to the advancement of science, whose depositors they had become. Whether it is owing to the enervating heat or to some other climatic reason, the Hindu though gifted with a sharp, discerning intellect, is on the whole not gifted with the genius of originality. Very few inventions or discoveries have been made by Hindus. The study of astronomical and mathematical science was prosecuted with great zeal and success in India, but the first influence of the Hindus on the west was through the medium

of philosophy. Buddhism and other philosophical or religious systems, originated in India, biassed to a great extent the doctrines of early Christianity. This we perceive in the doctrines of Emanation, in that of the Migration of the soul and others. The gnostic Bardesanes of Edessa, a friend of the Indian Ambassadors at the court of Antoninus Pius (138-161) was well acquainted with Indian philosophy. The same can be said of Clemens of Alexandria and Origines. The heretic Mani was a great admirer of Buddhism which proselytizing religion was centuries ago already known to the Greeks.

The Mahomedan invasion was the means of introducing the sparks of Indian wisdom to the West, which began just then to recover from the violent convulsions, into which it had been thrown by the immigration of the barbarians. The same Arabs who acted at that very period as disseminators of Indian science and as instructors of the West, were trying to destroy and to root out the people who were the representatives of that civilization. Indian Arithmetic together with the Indian figures, which the Europeans call Arabian, as they obtained them through the medium of Arabs, Indian Astronomy, with its nomenclature, Indian Medicine, Indian Philosophy, all these were eagerly studied by the Arabs, then the most civilized and learned people of the world. But though the Mussulmans were thus striving to cultivate these Indian studies and to reintroduce them into the very West, from whence that civilization had originally started, they reduced India to that unhappy condition, in which it was found when the first Europeans put their foot on this country.

It were untrue to contend that the immediate result of European intervention could be considered to have been beneficial to India. The first and most important reason which directed the eyes of the Western people to this country

was the desire of acquiring wealth and power, for the idea of the enormous riches of India had strangely taken hold of the mind of foreign nations. Rank egotism can never act benevolently, and the newcomers showed only benevolence towards themselves and malevolence against all others. The behaviour of the Portuguese towards the Natives; the introduction of the Inquisition; the jealousy of Dutch, English and French against each other, and the means to which they stooped to conquer, could not but create a prejudice against the Europeans. But as soon as India was fairly in the hands of a European nation, the English, that nation did try to obliterate the traces of the bloody conflicts, and the blessings of peace began to manifest themselves in this country, as they have never been experienced before.

And this prosperous state originated from the commercial intercourse between the West and the East, which, though at the beginning, fraught with disastrous events, was the means of introducing to this country, when at its lowest prostration, the arts, sciences and culture of the West.

Let us hope, that they will remain here for the good of this country and its inhabitants and that the previous oscillations of civilization will cease and one high and moral culture comprise and unite us one and all!

GUSTAV OPPERT.

VI.

ON THE SPAWN OF *TURBINELLA RAPA*, THE CHANK-SHELL.

The specimen which forms the subject of this brief memoir was presented to the Museum by R. M. Adam, Esq., Deputy Commissioner of Inland Customs, on special duty, and was procured by him at Tuticorin. Although not, perhaps, new to science, it is still, I think, sufficiently rare and curious to merit its being figured and described in the Society's journal. As indicated in the heading to this notice it is the spawn of the mollusc *Turbinella rapa*, the famous and sacred Konch or Chank-shell of which a figure is given in Plate I. The Turbinella is one of the carnivorous gasteropods and the sexual organs are in distinct individuals. Owing to its predatory habits it lives in deep water, where food is abundant, and accordingly its spawn is also deposited there, so that the young on their escape from the egg may be able to gratify their zoophagous tastes, and get on in the world. The envelopes of the eggs of the carnivorous gasteropods differ much in form, but they all agree in consisting of tough membranous capsules, arranged singly or in groups, and in each of the capsules containing a large number of germs. As will be seen by a reference to Plate II, Fig. 1, the spawn of the Turbinella consists of a series of sacs or oviferous receptacles, the transverse markings in the figure indicating the dimensions of each capsule. In the fresh state the membranous walls of the sacs are pliable, although tough and strong, but when dried they become somewhat horny; and it will be observed that during the drying process the spawn figured in Plate II has, from the irregular shrinking of the two sides, become curved and twisted so as to have somewhat the appearance of a horn. On careful examination it is found that the several pouches

of which it consists are bound or agglutinated together by a distinct membrane, adherent to the outer margin *a* and to the flattish surface *b* of the sacs. On the opposite surface, corresponding to *b*, the capsules are free, but on the margin *c* they are partly attached by a sort of articulation, each sac being locked by a sort of process to the one next it in the series. This process is seen at *d* in Fig. 2, in which five capsules are shown with their upper walls removed, so as to exhibit the young shells in the interior. Immediately in front of *d* there is a membranous spur or prolongation *e*, the probable use of which will be alluded to hereafter. The process of laying the eggs in an allied species, *Turbinella pyrum*, is so well described by Sir Everard Home, that I take the liberty of transcribing his narrative from Johnston's Introduction to Conchology, page 353 (Edition, 1850). "A friend of mine," says Sir Everard, "saw the female shed her eggs; a mass, apparently of mucus, passed along the deep groove in the lip of the shell in the form of a rope, several inches in length, and sunk to the bottom ; this rope of eggs, enclosed in mucus at the end last discharged, was of so adhesive a nature, that it became attached to the rock, or stone, on which the animal deposited it. As soon as the mucus came in contact with salt water, it coagulated into a firm membranous structure, so that the eggs became enclosed in membranous chambers, and this connected nidus, having one end fixed and the other loose, was moved by the waves, and the young in the eggs had their blood aerated through the membrane, and when hatched they remained defended from the violence of the sea till their shells had not only been formed but had acquired strength."

The end *f*, Fig. 1, Plate II, would appear to be that which remains free, the other being attached to a rock, coral or stone, by two membranous expansions, and it is not improbable that the peculiar attachment of the agglutinating membrane, already described, and the membranous prolongation *e*, Fig. 2,

may have some influence in keeping up the swaying motion of the spawn in the water, which is necessary for the oxygenation of the young in the interior of the pouches. In Fig. 4, Plate II, a side view is given of a separated capsule, and Fig. 3 gives magnified sketches of the young shells. The embryonic development of gasteropods is a subject of great interest, but being described in various standard works, it is not necessary to allude to it here. The larger oviferous sacs of the Turbinella spawn contain from 8 to 10 young shells each, but the smaller ones, towards the other end of the specimen, are barren. In Fig. 1, Plate II, there are 30 fertile sacs, and say that each of these, on an average, contains 6 germs: we have thus altogether 180 young shells in the whole of the cells. Although this is a large number to be produced at one birth, it is but small when compared with the immense hosts of ova produced by some other gasteropods. The chank-shell is a considerable article of commerce in this country, being sacred to Vishnu, and therefore used by certain devotees to blow as a horn, &c. It is also cut into rings, which are used as bracelets and leg ornaments by Hindu women. Subsequent to the conclusion of the above remarks on the spawn of the chank, I discovered in the Museum two specimens of the spawn of another mollusc greatly resembling that of the chank. It is labelled "*Fasciolaria*, found on the coast of Madras," and is no doubt the product of some one of the species of that genus occurring in the Bay of Bengal. In its general characters this spawn is almost identical with that of the chank, a similarity, which is accounted for by the near relationship of the two genera. In one of these specimens the slender extremity of the spawn terminates in a wide membranous expansion, like a school-boy's "Sucker," which is evidently intended, and is well calculated to give it a very firm attachment to some rock or stone at the bottom of the water.

G. BIDIE.

PLATE 1.

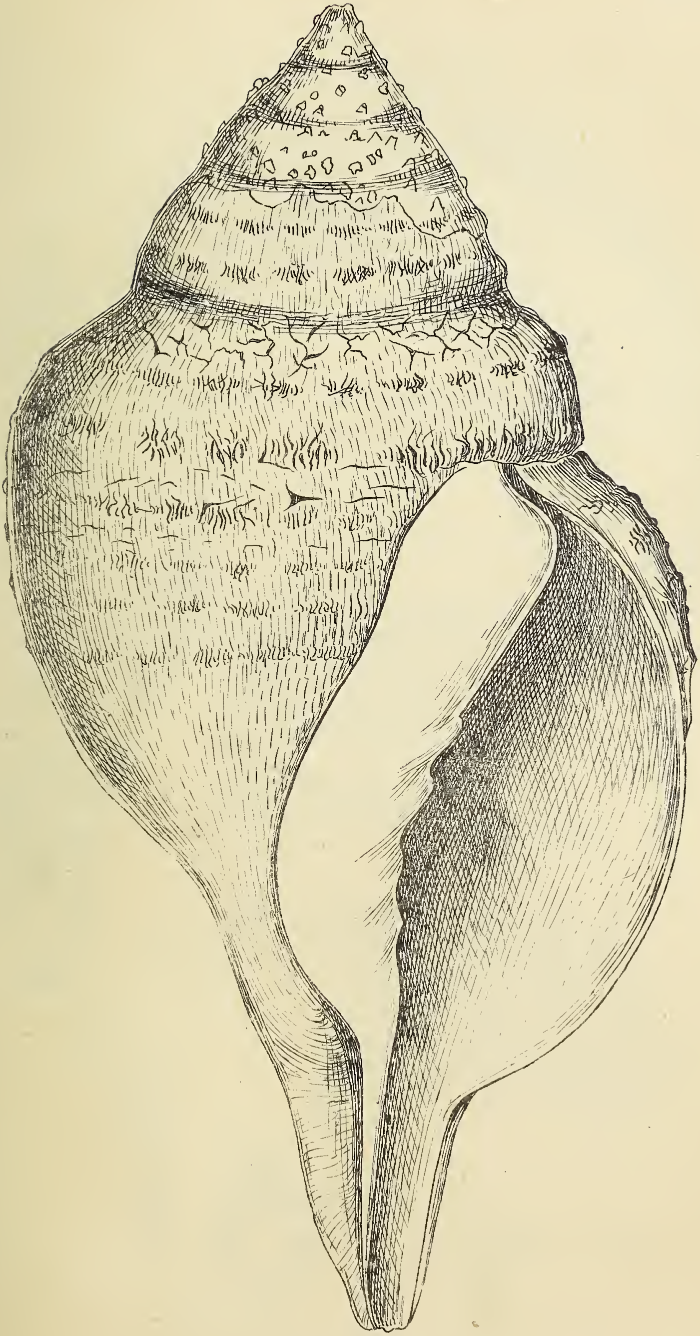

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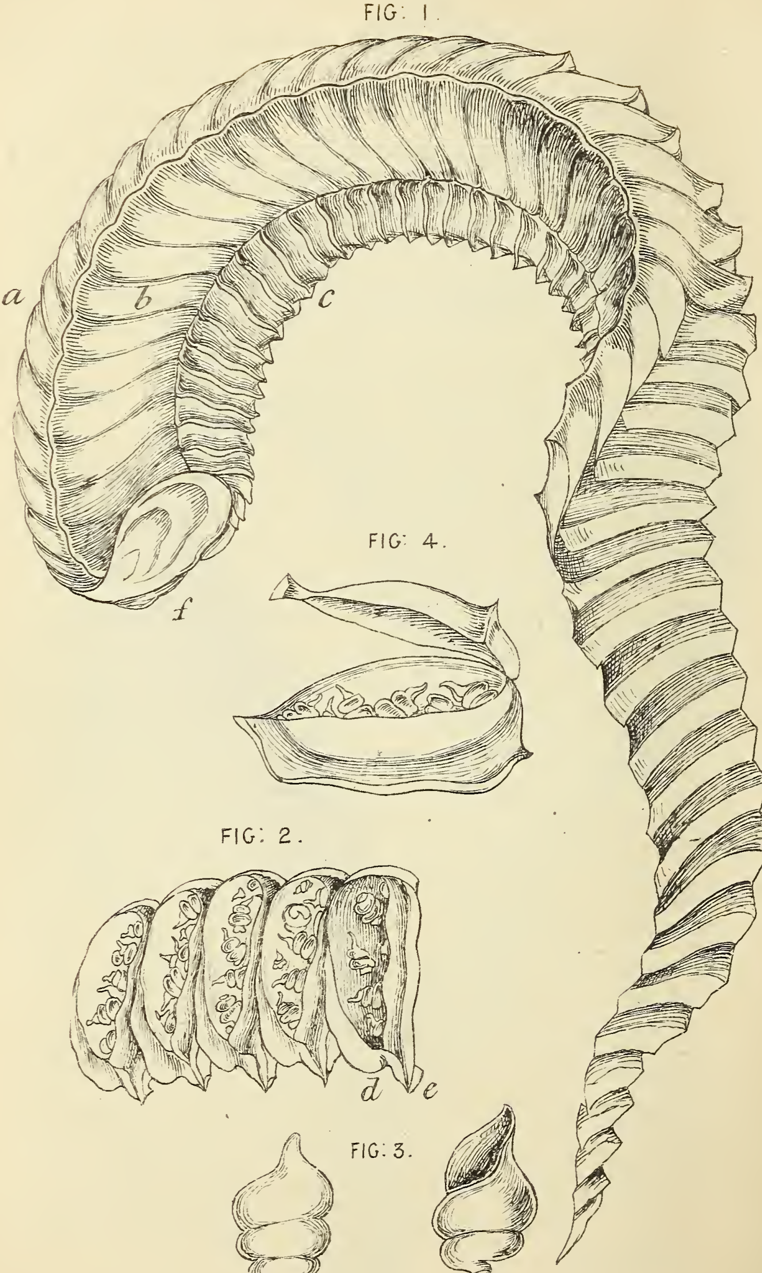
PLATE II.



LITH^D. BY R. BALDREY GOVT. LITH^C. PRESS MADRAS 1878.

INDEX

TO

SIXTY-TWO MS. VOLUMES

DEPOSITED IN THE

GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS LIBRARY,

CONTAINING

REFERENCES TO ARCHÆOLOGICAL, HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND OTHER SUBJECTS.

COMPILED, ARRANGED AND EDITED

BY

GUSTAV OPPERT, PH.D.

CURATOR, GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS LIBRARY.

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1878.

PREFACE.

THE volumes from which this Index has been prepared are sixty-two volumes of Local Records. These Local Records were collected during the years 1800 and 1804 by Colonel Colin Mackenzie, the well known and indefatigable Surveyor-General of India. The originals, being written on perishable country paper, seemed to be doomed to certain destruction, as time and worms were treating them badly, when Mr. C. P. Brown, the great Telugu scholar, had them re-written and deposited in the Oriental MSS. Library in the form in which they are now preserved. Some portions of the records do not appear to have been copied, as Mr. Brown says that he "omitted much hackneyed mythology, and also such lists of names and accounts of money matters as seemed worthless."

The languages in which these records are written are Sanskṛit, Marāṭhi, Hindustāni, Tamil, Canarese, and Telugu; but though Tamil and Canarese papers occur often Telugu prevails to such an extent that it is only missing in 19 volumes, while 24 volumes are entirely in Telugu.[1]

The Index contains a reference to all names of persons, sects, races, places, temples, rivers, mountains, and all other objects of interest alluded to in these volumes, the Roman

(1) In Telugu are written Vols. 1–10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 33, 34, 35, 47, 55, 59, and 62; in Tamil Vols. 51, 52, 53 and 58; in Canarese Vols. 24 and 61; Vols. 12, 15, 21, 36–39, 41, 42, 44, 48, 56, 57, and 60 contain Telugu and Sanskṛit; Vols. 25–32 Canarese and Sanskṛit; Vols. 11, 18, 23, 43, 45, 46, and 49 Telugu, Canarese, and Sanskṛit; Vol. 54 Telugu, Tamil, and Canarese; Vol. 50 Telugu, Tamil, Marāṭhi, and Sanskṛit; and Vol. 40 Telugu, Hindustāni, Marāṭhi, and Sanskṛit. The records written in Hindustāni and Marāṭhi are furnished with a vernacular translation.

figures denoting the volumes, the Arabic figures the pages, where such mention occurs. The transcription followed is that now generally adopted.[2]

The names appear in the form in which they are found in the MSS., but here they vary considerably.

The same name occurs occasionally in many different forms, as the orthography is not yet settled. This being the case a transliteration requires at times critical consideration, as a correct transcription from the vernacular is not always sufficient. I allude here to the great variety in which common proper names are spelt. In former centuries a similar state of things prevailed in Europe. I may mention the different ways in which Sir Thomas More's name was spelt by himself and others.

The special aim of this and of subsequent indexes is to point out the places where information on particular subjects is supplied. It appears unnecessary to reprint in full what only interests a very few, but this minority should know where to look for information.

The critical history of Central Asia and India, at which I have been working for the last fifteen years, and of which the monograph on Prester John was an occasional offshoot, is making only slow progress, as very many obstacles bar its completion. The unsatisfactory manner in which we are acquainted with the past of this country, especially the untrustworthy character of the historical material at our disposal, seems to prevent anything like a true description of the events which happened in ancient and even in more

	Consonants.							Vowels.		Diphthongs.		
(2) Gutturals	k	kh	g	gh	ṅ	h	ḥ	a	ā	ē	(e)	ai
Palatals	c	ch	j	jh	ñ	y	s′	i	ī			
Linguals	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ	r	sh	ṛ′	ṛī			
Dentals	t	th	d	dh	n	l	s	ḷi	ḷī			
Labials	p	ph	b	bh	m	v	ḥ	u	ū	ō	(o)	au
	and ṁ											

modern times. Under these circumstances it may perhaps be preferable to confine oneself to draw with critical intuition the rough outlines of a sketch, and to leave to future investigations the final execution of the historical picture, rather than to try to compose at once a lengthy historical work.

South India preserves on the whole very few antiquities which guide us safely back to ancient times, but it is possible that we may find in the vernacular names of persons, countries, rivers, mountains, &c., historical relics which will claim our attention and explain many apparent mysteries. I have begun to collect such names in the four principal vernaculars of Southern India, and hope to submit them some day to the critical view of the public.

Meanwhile I shall be thankful for any assistance and suggestion which may be offered to me on this particular topic.

It remains to me now to thank my native friends for the kind manner, in which they assisted me while compiling this Index. I desire especially to mention A. Varadācārya, my first Telugu Master, who helped me as much as he could up to the time of his sudden death. I am also much beholden to the Paṇḍits Siddhānti Subramaṇya Śāstri of the Presidency College, and M. J. Tirumalācārya, for the readiness which they exhibited in explaining doubtful passages in the Canarese part of the collection.

INDEX.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Acc. for Account.		Inscrs. for Inscriptions.
H. ,, History.		T. ,, Temple.
Inscr. ,, Inscription.		Ts. ,, Temples.

The Roman figures indicate the Volumes, the Arabic the Pages.

A.

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* Sannad is a written authority for holding either land or office.

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koppa, Kōḍūru, Kokkarapañca, Kolabhīmanapāḍu, Kolaṅkalūru, Kōlār, Kolimiguṇṭla, Kolkalūru, Kollūru, Kōḷumūru, Kōmalanūtala, Komāra Ananta Rāja Puram, Konarājupalle, Kōnāṭṭu, Koṇḍapalle, Koṇḍaparti, Koṇḍasunkasula, Koṇḍavēṭi, (Koṇḍavīṭi), Koṇḍūru, Kōnēru, Koṅganapalle Koppada, Koppadasīme, Kopparti Ceruvu, Koppōlu, Korakoṇḍa Varadācāri, Korrapāḍu, Kōruvānipalle, Kōṭakundukūru, Kōṭavunmaca, Kotlūru, Kottacintakuṇṭa, Kottapalle, Kottavāsal, Kottūru, Kōtulamiḍatūru, Kōvalūru, Kōviladi, Kōyamuttūru, Kōyilaguṇṭa, Kṛishṇagiri, Kṛishṇarāyasamudram, Kṛishṇa Temple, Kubbaṭūru, Kūcipāpa, Kuḍitīni, Kukkanūlu, Kukkanūru, Kulakkānattūru, Kuḷattūru, Kulōttuṅgabōḷa Mahārāju, Kumpiṇīpuram, Kundāpuram, Kundarpi, Kuṇigalagadde, Kuntimādhavasvāmi, Kuntojiyalli, Kupaṭūru, (Kuppaṭūru), Kuradakoṭa Maṭham, Kurakundi, Kurava, Kureṭṭihaḷli, Kurugōḍu, Kurumala, Kuruvadageḍḍe. Lakkuṇḍi, Lakshmīśvara, Lāluguḍi, Laṅkaṭūru, Lāvanūru, Liṅgaṅguṇṭā, Linga Temple. Mācanūru, Macilipaṭnam, Mācupalle, Mādala, Māḍapūru, Maḍaviḷāham, Maddagiri, Maddikere, Maddūru, Mādhavadēva, Mādhavāpuram, Maḍūru, Mahādēva, Mahādēvarāyaru, Mahānandi, Maisūru, Maitakūru, Maktalūru, Makuṭēśvarasvāmi, Malugunda, Malamīdi Vuppulapāḍu, Malayūru, Mālemārvūru, Mālepāḍu, Mallāpuram, Mallinēnipaṭnam, Malyāla, Māmacintala, Māmalaipuram, Manavāḷajīyar, Maṅcālla, Maṇḍalēśvarakārtivīrya Dēvaru, Maṇḍalēśvara Kattarasa, Maṇḍalēśvara Vīra Goṅkarasu, Maṇḍlem, Maṅgalagiri, Maṅgalam, Maṅgalūru, Māṇikyarāvu Taluq, Mannārugudi, Mannūru, Mārakāpuram, Mārnepalle, Marutūru, Māyalūru, Medakuriti, Meddala, Mēlappalūru, Miḍatūru, Minnikallu, Mirutūru, Mōdinapuram, Mōka, Mōpūru, Mōraguḍi, Mōṭukūru, Mōṭupalle, Muccaḷambi, Muccamarri, Mūḍabidare, Mudagallu, Muddagōdu, Muddanūru, Mudeturu, Muḍimōḍi Lakshmaṇa Śāstri, Muḍuccūru, Mudugōḍu, Muḍumbi Kṛishṇamācāri, Mugutam, Muguvinam, Mukkaṇākurci Mukkaṇṇākurci, Muḷagunda, Mulakalēḍu, Mullagūramma, Mulugunda Mundigahalli, Munipaḷli, Munuvaḷli, Murapandi, Muravakkatōḷūru, Muravaṇi, Musalimaḍugu, Muttūru, Mutyālapāḍu. Naḍipalle, Naḍuvaccēri, Nāgaladinne, Nāgalāpuram, Nāgālu, Nāgalūṭi, Nāgamangalam, Nāgananda, Nagaram, Nāgarlapāḍu, Nāgavaram, Nāgāyi, Nakirakallu, Nālattavāḍa, Nālavattavāḍa, Nallūru, Nālvāragrāma, Nandalūru, Nandēla, Nandēlammapēṭa, Nandikōṭakūru, Nandipāḍu, Nandyāla, Naṅkapalle, Naṇṭūru, Narasayapāḷam, Narasiṁhadēva, Narasiṁhapuram, Narasiṁhasvāmi, Nariyanūru, Narunūru, Nattakkāreyūru, Nēkunāmbādu, Nēmaḷladinne, Nemmidēva, Neranūru, Neravāḍu, Neregallu, Nereyaṅgallu, Neriyanūru, Nerūru, Neruvūru, Nidasiṅgivūru, Niḍijuvvi, Nidisiṅgili, Niḍubrōlu, Niḍujuvvi, Nīlavarti, Nilicinameṭla, Niṇḍali, Nippāṇi, Nirukoṇḍa, Niṭṭūru, Nosan Taluq, Nuggahaḷli, Nūkinēnipalle. Ōbalāpuram, Ōbulāpuram, Ōlēru, Oraṅgallu, Ōravāyi, Ōruvakallu, Paḍigepāḍu, Pagiḍēla, Paiḍipāṭi, Pālakkāḍu, Paḷani, Paḷayapāriyūru, Pallapāḍu, Pallevēḍu, Paḷlikoṇḍa, Pālūru, Pañcadhāra, Pañcaliṅgadēvasthānam, Pañcapāḷam, Pāṇḍavadūta, Pāṇḍīśvara Temple, Pāṇen, Pāṇyam, Pāpavināśam, Paragaḍa, Parañjerunaḷli, Parasagada, Pariśavēdi, Pārśvanāthadēvasthānam, Pārumañcāla, Pātaceruvu, Pāta Cintakuṇṭa, Pātakōṭa, Paṭṭāli, Pāṭūru, Payaranikkuḍikkāḍu, Pedadaṇḍlūru, Pedakaḷlepalle, Pedakommerla, Pedamakkena, Pedapāḷam, Pedaveṇuturla, Peddacintakuṇṭa, Peddadaṇḍlūru Peddakākani, Peddakōḍūru, Peddakommerla, Peddamalle, Peddamuḍiyam, Peddanantāpuram, Peddapalipālegāḍuṇ, Penagalūru, Peṇḍrābhāvi, Peṇṭagrāmam, Penucāla, Penucōṭa, Penugāñciprōlu, Penukoṇḍai, Pēranipāḍu, Peravali, Perimiḍi, Periyapālayam,

Perukoḷam, Perundurai, Peruṅga-ḷattūru, Perūru, Perusōmalavūru, Perusōmula, Pesaravāyi, Pesara-vāyikōṭa, Pēṭavāyi, Piraṅgipuram, Piṭhāpuram, Poddaṭūru, Polakallu, Pōlēru, Pōli, Pōlūru, Pondalūru, Ponnampalle, Ponnāpalle, Ponna-tōṭa, Ponnōlu, Ponnūru, Pottapi, Poṭṭipāḍu, Prabhuvuvīḍu, Prasā-dapuram Prattipāḍu, Pulavāni, Puliccakuli, Pulimaddi, Pulivarru, Pulivendala, Puliyūru, Pulla-gummi, Pullalacerla, Pūnūru, Pura, Pushpagiri, Puṭṭakōṭa. Rājāmā-nikkarāvu, Rājavōlu, Rājulamand-agiri, Rāmacandradēva, Rāmasāga-ram, Rāmatīrtham, Rāmēśvaram, Raṅgapalle, Rāṇibennūru, Rāvu-lūru, Rāyamurārisōyidēvaru, Rāyasiṅgupuram, Reḍḍicarla, Rē-gudipalle, Rēṇutala, Rōḷla-maḍugu, Ruddavōdi, Rūdrāvati, Rudrāyapalle, Sābala, Sadāśiva-puram, Sagara, Sāgaraśīma, Sagaṭūru, Sākūru, Sālavaṭṭi, Sāleyūru, Sampaṅgi, Sandalai, Saṅgama, Saṅgamañcipalle, Saṅ-gapaṭnam, Saṅkamadēvaru, Śaṅ-karapuram, Śāntarāpūru, Sānta-rāvūru, Śāntivarmadēvaru, Sā-saṅga, Sātenahaḷḷi, Sattenapalli, Satyamaṅgalam, Savadaradinne, Savadurti, Śeṅgōṭṭai, Śennivanam, Śēshamāmbāpuram, Śeṭṭihaḷḷi, Śeṭṭipalle, Śēttupaṭṭu, Śevandīś-vara Temple, Siddhavaṭam, Sid-dhēśvara, Siddhēśvarapādu, Siḍī-ginamōla, Śikhāripuraśīma, Śilam, Śilavuḍumulapādu, Simhaṇadē-varu, Śimupalimaḍugu, Śindavāḍi, Siṇḍigili, Siṅgukkillēdār, Śirivoḷla, Śiriguppe, Śirivaram, Śiruvōla, Śītēkoṇḍa, Śittāmūru, Śivakāñci, Śivapuram, Śivarājapuram, Śivāru-mallēśvaram, Sōdābadanagōḍu, Sōde Taluk, Sōmabhaṭlu, Sōma-haḷḷi, Sōmalāpuram, Sōmanalahaḷḷi, Sōmanāthapuram, Sōmēśvaradēva-sthānam, Soraṭūru, Śrīperum-būdūru, Śrīraṅgapuram, Śrīśailam Śrīśailamallikhārjunadēva, Śrī-śailaparvatam, Sūḍī, Sugumañci, Surapuram, Suraṭuru. Tāḍiparti, Tāduvāya, Tailapadēvaru, Taiy-yūru, Talamañcipaṭnam, Tāḷla-māripuram, Taḷlapāḍu, Tāḷlapod-daṭūru, Tāḷlapuram, Tambaḷlapalle, Tāṅgakkarai, Taṅgaṭūru, Taṅ-guṭūru, Tañjavūru, Tēlikecarla, Tēnāli, Teṅguḷi, Teṅkalukōṭa, Tēnūru, Tiḷivaḷḷi, Timmāpuram, Tiṅgaḷūru, Tippasamudram, Tip-pireḍḍipalle, Tirakanāmbe, Tirici-napalle, Tīrthanagar, Tiruccotturai, Tirukkalikuṇḍram, Tirukkānal-lūru, Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi, Tirumalup-pāḍi, Tirumurugan Pūṇḍi, Tiru-nārāyaṇapuram, Tirunaruṅgoṇ-ḍai, Tirunelvēli, Tiruppaluvūru, Tiruppaujēri, Tirupparittikuṇḍ-ram, Tiruppayaṇam, Tiruppōrūru, Tiruvaḍandai, Tiruvādi, Tiruva-hendrapuram, Tiruvālattūru, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Tiruvattiyūru, Tiruveñjamāṅguḍal, Tiruvīdi, Tiruviṇanallūru, Tiruvoṭṭiyūru, Toḷasīpuram, Toṇḍaladinne, Toṇḍanūru, Torreḍu, Torremula, Tribhuvanamalla, Tripurāntakam, Triyambakapuram, Tūbāḍu, Tuḍūru, Tummalapālam, Tumma-lapētā, Tuṅgabhadra. Ubicerlā, Udayagiri, Uḍayārpalayam, Uddani, Udiyūru, Ukkāyapalle, Ulgūru, Ulijarla, Ummarigi, Uṇḍapalle, Unnāvāram, Uppalā-daḍiyam, Uppalapāḍu, Uppulūru, Uppura, Urimella, Uruvakoṇḍa, Usandi, Uyyakkoṇḍanmalai, Uy-yalavāḍa. Vadageri, Vaḍakarai, Vaddamāna, Vaddirāla, Vaguru-goḷla, Vaikuṇṭhapuram, Vallam-pāḍu, Valudūru, Vandirāḷla, Vaṅgipuram, Vanipeṇṭa, Vaṇṭi-meṭṭa, Vaṇṭimiṭṭapūḍi, Varadarāja-svāmi, Varadayyapāḷyam, Varāhā-vūru, Varrikuṇṭa, Vāsalkuḍak-karai, Vayalūru, Veladurti, Vela-pali, Velāpuri, Veḷiccakkoḷattūru, Vellāla, Veḷlekōvil, Velmakūru, Velpunūru, Velpūru, Vēma, Vēmalūru, Vembākam, Vemba-lūru, Vēmulapāḍu, Vēṅgambūru, Veñjamāṅgūḍalūru, Veṅkaṭādri-pālam, Veṅkaṭagiri, Vēparāḷla, Vēṭṭamaṅgalam, Vijayādiya, Vijayanagaram, Vijayāpuram, Vikramaśiva, Vinikoṇḍa, Vīrabal-lāḷadēva, Vīrabhadra Temple,

Vīragallu, Vīramallidēva, Vīrapalle, Vīrayapalle, Virūpāksha, Virūpākshapuram, Vishṇukāñcipuram, Vishṇuvardhana, Viśvēśvaradēva, Viṭhalēśvara, Viṭṭukaṭṭi, Vṛiddhācalam, Vyāsanūru. Yādādi, Yadamaṭha, Yaḍarāvi, Yādāṭi, Yaḍavalli, Yādiki, Yaḷarāḷa, Yalavāla, Yalavaṭṭili, Yalisi, Yallamanda, Yallūru, Yanamadala, Yanamalacintala, Yarraguḍi, Yarraguḍidinne, Yarraguṇṭapalle, Yarraguṇṭla, Yarraguṇṭlakōṭā, Yarrakoṇḍapālam, Yarra Timmarāju Ceruvu.
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